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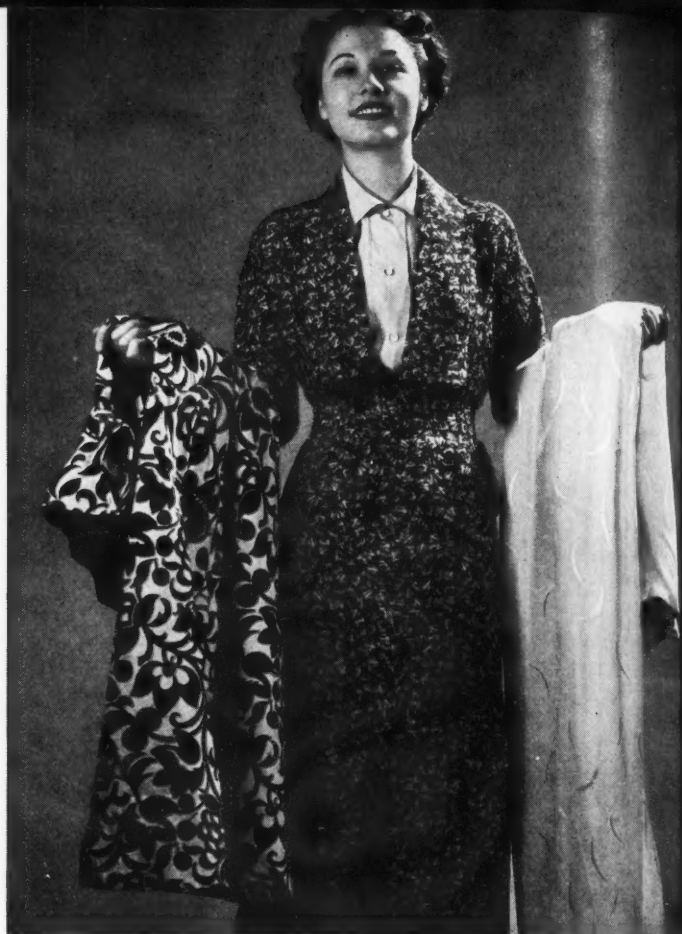
(Four Articles)

PHILIPPINE PUZZLE	W. H. Chamberlin
STALIN'S PURGE	Eugene Lyons
EMPIRE OF THE AIR	W. Carroll Munro
A FUTURE FOR IRAN	John C. Le Clair
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WITH THE SPANISH ANARCHISTS	L. A. Fernsworth

Log of Major Currents ★ They Say ★ Law ★ Science ★ Religion
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N. B. COUSINS
Literary Editor

The **WORLD TODAY** **IN BOOKS**

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>The Third Reich</i>	Henri Lichtenberger	Greystone	\$3.00
<i>Hitler's Drive to the East</i>	F. Elwyn Jones	Dutton	\$1.00
<i>The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism</i>	Robert A. Brady	Viking	\$3.00
<i>Flood-light on Europe</i>	Felix Wittmer	Scribners	\$3.75
<i>A Good Word for Democracy</i>	S. E. Forman	Appleton-Century	\$1.50
<i>What is Ahead of Us?</i>	(Fabian Lecture Series)	Macmillan	\$2.00
<i>Bulwark of the Republic</i>	Burton J. Hendrick	Little, Brown	\$3.50
<i>The Supreme Court and the National Will</i>	Dean Alfange	Doubleday, Doran	\$2.50
<i>Twenty Years as a Military Attaché</i>	T. Bentley Mott	Oxford	\$2.50
<i>The Life of Lord Carson, Vol. III</i>	Ian Colvin	Macmillan	\$5.00
<i>Old Fuss and Feathers</i>	Arthur D. Howden Smith	Greystone	\$4.00

FIVE years ago this month the figure of a swastika was tattooed onto the face of an unsettled, uncertain Germany. The historians have not been idle during this time and a considerable literature has sprung up around the phenomenon of National Socialism. Up to now, Professor Frederick L. Schuman's *The Nazi Dictatorship* has won more recognition, perhaps, than any other single book on the subject. But the high estate enjoyed by Dr. Schuman's competent work must now be shared with *The Third Reich*, an extensive inquiry and analysis of contemporary Germany by Henri Lichtenberger.

Dr. Lichtenberger is a Frenchman and it might appear that this accident of environment would prevent him from viewing Germany with any degree of objectivity; if, indeed, objectivity is possible in a consideration of Nazi rule. But the author, Director of Germanic Studies at the Sorbonne, has avoided the role of judge and jury, concerning himself with a history, not an upbraiding, of Germany since the war, with particular emphasis upon the events of the last half-

dozen years. The result is that *The Third Reich* is a book armed to the teeth with facts. There is no haven here for inexactitudes or the loose threads of half-way knowledge.

On the surface and according to government front-men, it would appear that Germany's economic complexion has brightened considerably in the last few years. But close inspection reveals that the economic structure has no sound foundation and is propped up by the instruments of war. The manufacture of armaments, the author points out, has made it possible for the third Reich to claim an economic revival.

But though the smokestacks of the munitions factories may be going at full blast, there is a conspicuous inactivity in other industries. German exports have suffered heavily and recent devaluation has been estimated to result in a loss of between 80 and 100 million marks in foreign exchange. Unable to achieve a favorable balance of trade, Germany has embarked upon a retaliatory course of self-sufficiency. In four years she believes she can be "wholly inde-

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pendent," in the words of the Fuehrer, of foreign countries "in respect to all those materials which can in any way be produced through German capability, through German chemistry, or by machine and mining industries." Hitler believes, too, that the *ersatz* (synthetic products) manufactures will enable him to absorb many of the millions thrown out of work when his armament program is completed.

Employment figures are relatively high in Germany, but the average wage has been lowered and hours have been lengthened. The principal aim of Nazi economic policy toward labor, Dr. Lichtenberger observes, has not been to increase the purchasing power of the people, nor to satisfy their growing needs by developing consumers' goods industries, as normally occurs during periods of "prosperity." For the great bulk of the workers the standard of living, he adds, has not improved and in some cases was even lowered.

What of the future? It would be dangerous to predict an immediate foundering of the Nazi ship of state, for in many ways it has carried off its objectives, right or wrong, with a measure of success. Yet it is equally dangerous to say that there will not be an economic collapse, perhaps in the near future. For the question largely revolves about the ability of the German people to continue their acceptance of a reduced standard of living, even though as a nation Germany has shown herself capable of enduring the most severe privations and is endowed with a Spartan spirit which looks to the state above the individual.

The sympathies of few Frenchmen, Dr. Lichtenberger finds in a chapter similar to a postscript, have gone out to the Nazis. France is opposed to the substitution of a religion of heroism for a religion of love. France is not geared to the

goosestep and finds it difficult to think of individuals in terms of impersonalized military units. France is shocked, too, by the calculated violence with which the Nazis subdue their enemies, gazing in horror at the butchery of the blood purge. France has an irreducible skepticism towards the Nazi myth of race and will not condone persecution of religious minorities. And France finds that the important aspects of man towards man are his *resemblances*, rather than his *differences*, recalling the "universal human" of Goethe.

Yet France watches with interest and is withholding her condemnation of certain phases of Nazi rule. Although she herself could not impose upon the Frenchman a campaign of sports training and physical culture, nor maintain youth camps, she is willing to concede that this aspect of Nazism may not be without its benefits for Germans. And though France has evinced a curiosity on the subject of the new eugenics policy of Hitlerism, she is frankly skeptical of such a powerful weapon in the hands of a Nazi state.

Whether the Rhine will soon again see war between Germany and France, Dr. Lichtenberger does not profess to know. For his part, he hopes that the traditional and emotional and philosophical differences between the two nations will not find their outlets on the battlefield. France and Germany should "agree to disagree." Neither country need adopt the tenets of the other, nor should either one permit the tenets of the other to precipitate a clash which may destroy both peoples.

DR. LICHTENBERGER'S hope for peace between France and Germany is not too remote, at least according to F. Elwyn Jones in *Hitler's Drive to the East*, a well-written and concise explanation of German expansionist aims. The Fuehrer has recognized that if Germany is to expand, it cannot be on French soil. In *Mein Kampf*, the Nazi chief wrote that Germans had stopped the "eternal march to the south and west of Europe and turned our eyes towards the land in the east." Thus Hitler adopts the same goals that caused the outbreak of the World War. The mistake of Emperor Wilhelm may well be the folly of the Fuehrer.

Germany's ultimate aim, according to the author, is to forge a *Mittel Europa*, reaching from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the Rhine to the Dniester. The strategy also entails driving a wedge between France and England on the west and Russia on the east. After marooning Russia from the rest of Europe, Germany would have a highway to the Ukraine through which she could

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march her armies. And though Germany may expect that Italy will not take kindly to the prospect of losing influence in the Danubian and Balkan countries, the Nazis believe they are smart enough to eat Il Duce's cake and have his friendship, too. A correspondent summarized Germany's policy towards Italy as one of "cooperation in secondary interests and of veiled opposition in primary interests."

In its attempt to extend its sphere of influence over the small eastern states of Europe, Germany has already laid its pipe lines of propaganda. Direct intervention is being taken in the internal affairs of the smaller nations. Newspapers have been bought; corrupt politicians have been subsidized; the Gestapo has carried on a well-planned reign of terror. Should the entire scheme succeed, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania would become puppet states of Germany.

A supplementary theme of Mr. Jones' handy, pocket-sized volume is that internal opposition to the Nazi party is widespread. The author says that despite the organized terror, leftist groups have filtered through the organization ranks of the Nazis and are busy practicing Dimitrov's theory of the Trojan Horse—dismantling from within. In discussing this type of opposition, Mr. Jones declares that various methods of anti-fascist propaganda have been employed with a fair share of success. Gramophone records begin with Viennese waltzes and end with attacks upon Hitler; pamphlets outwardly resembling party journals contain revelatory information about concentration camps, prisoners, arrests, and executions; a person is given a German dictionary and opens it to find an extensive vocabulary, although not in alphabetical order and bristling with vituperation against the Nazi government.

THIS cleavage in Germany is but one example of the divisive forces at work all over the world today, contends Robert A. Brady in *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*. Although his main theme is concerned with the mechanics through which Nazism operates, Dr. Brady emphasizes that there are clashing forces everywhere that are slowly separating the people of every nation into warring camps: popular front and fascist, red and reactionary, capital and labor. This break runs like a widening geological fault through all the layers of society.

Perhaps the most significant point brought home in *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism* is that exactly the same forces which gravitated for the introduction and establishment of Naziism are at work in all other countries and that, "for better or worse, there is no possibility

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QUESTIONS *and* ANSWERS

Taken from our radio quiz
"CURRENT HISTORY EXAMS"
(Sta. WHN, Wed. 8:45-9:15 P.M.)

THE QUESTIONS:

1. Is Hungary officially a republic or a kingdom?
2. With what country do you identify (a) the 4-year plan; (b) the 5-year plan; (c) the 6-year plan?
3. What is the Gestapo?
4. What is the Ogpu?
5. Was it Hitler of Germany or Stalin of Russia who said in a May Day address this year that he would tolerate no criticism of the State's morals, at the same time threatening to drive protesting churches "back to the domains of their spiritual and ministerial functions"?
6. Was it Stalin of Russia or Hitler of Germany who said in a May Day address this year that his Government would take children away from "old fogey" parents, and train them?
7. What is the Fianna Fail?
8. What is the Dail?
9. By whom and how were the annual Pulitzer prizes in journalism and letters established?
10. What writer was awarded the Pulitzer prize this year for the most distinguished novel of 1936?
11. What is the Pulitzer prize-winning book of U. S. history this year, and who wrote it?
12. What is the origin of the word Zeppelin?
13. In what respect is helium more desirable than hydrogen as a gas to lift dirigibles?
14. In what way is hydrogen more desirable than helium?
15. Since 1925, what three great American dirigibles met with disaster?
16. In what principal respect did loss of the three American dirigibles differ from the destruction of the Zeppelin Hindenburg?

THE ANSWERS:

1. Hungary is a kingdom by proclamation, although at present it has no King, the monarch's duties being exercised by Regent Horthy.
2. Germany has a 4-year plan for industrial self-sufficiency; Russia has a 5-year plan of industrialization; Mexico has a 6-year plan of socialization and Mexicanization.
3. The Gestapo is the German secret police organization.
4. The Ogpu is the Russian secret police organization.
5. Hitler.
6. Hitler.
7. The political party of President Eamon De Valera of Ireland.
8. The Irish Chamber of Deputies.
9. By the late Joseph Pulitzer, publisher, in a bequest to Columbia University.
10. Margaret Mitchell for *Gone With the Wind*.
11. *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks—previously selected by CURRENT HISTORY as one of the 10 most outstanding non-fiction books of 1936.
12. Ferdinand von Zeppelin was a famous designer of dirigibles before the war; several types of dirigibles bear his name.
13. Helium is non-inflammable.
14. Hydrogen is cheaper and lighter than helium and for the latter reason, perhaps, is considered more efficient.
15. The Akron, the Macon, and the Shenandoah.
16. Filled with helium, the American dirigibles did not burn like the Hindenburg.

of avoiding the issues which those forces present for decision to every man and woman who votes, or thinks, or acts."

Strongly opposed to fascism of any type, Mr. Brady believes that a dissection of the methods and conditions under which Hitler rose to power may enable the democratic peoples to better protect themselves against a similar occurrence in their countries. Accordingly, Dr. Brady has taken German fascism apart, piece by piece, and has thrown into sharp focus, as he says, its "spirit and structure."

Mounting unemployment and decline in standards of living which saw its expression in the growth and increased unrest of the revolutionary left caused German capital to strike a bargain with Hitler, the author says. Business arched its back against the encroachments of labor organization and feared that the only alternative to communism was Hitler and National Socialism. Public opinion had been against the point of view of the industrial community. Having failed to keep its factories going, industry was rapidly finding itself hoist on its own petard and turned to Hitler.

The Versailles Treaty was not, as is popularly supposed, Dr. Brady contends, responsible for the deep dissatisfaction of the people. "The thing that generated the nervous unrest of those years was the deep-seated and growing cleavage of society into two irreconcilable camps."

Dr. Brady defines German fascism as a dictatorship of monopoly capitalism—that of a business enterprise organized on a monopoly basis and in full command of all the military, police, legal, and propaganda power of the state. It embodies three principles: the leader principle, the authority principle, and the total principle. "Authority is from the top down; responsibility from the bottom up." Thus, the Nazi system is set up to control completely all activities, thoughts, ideas, and values of the entire nation.

In *Flood-light on Europe*, Felix Wittmer has attempted the commendable task of providing the layman with an understandable and authentic outline of European political affairs. Just as John Gunther succeeded in vivifying Europe's leading personalities, so has Felix Wittmer succeeded in vivifying European politics. Here, in 500 pages made bright by the use of anecdotes and illustrative material, is Europe on parade. But the personality of the author is imposed so strongly upon his book that the procession appears to march to Mr. Wittmer's own tune.

(Continued on page 126)

GP

"It is safe to say that nowhere else will the English-speaking peoples find a more comprehensive, a more accurate, or a more just examination and interpretation of the Germany of today. Professor Lichtenberger is a scholar far too thorough and far too wise to indulge in a criticism which is merely violent and emotional!"

—NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

THE THIRD REICH

by

HENRI LICHTENBERGER

Translated and Edited by
KOPPEL S. PINSON

"The most illuminating and informative discussion of contemporary Germany that I have yet seen. The author's fairness in recognizing the desirable concrete achievements of Nazism lends additional weight and authority to his revelations of the undemocratic, cruel, and destructive nature of its underlying spirit, and basic policies and methods?"

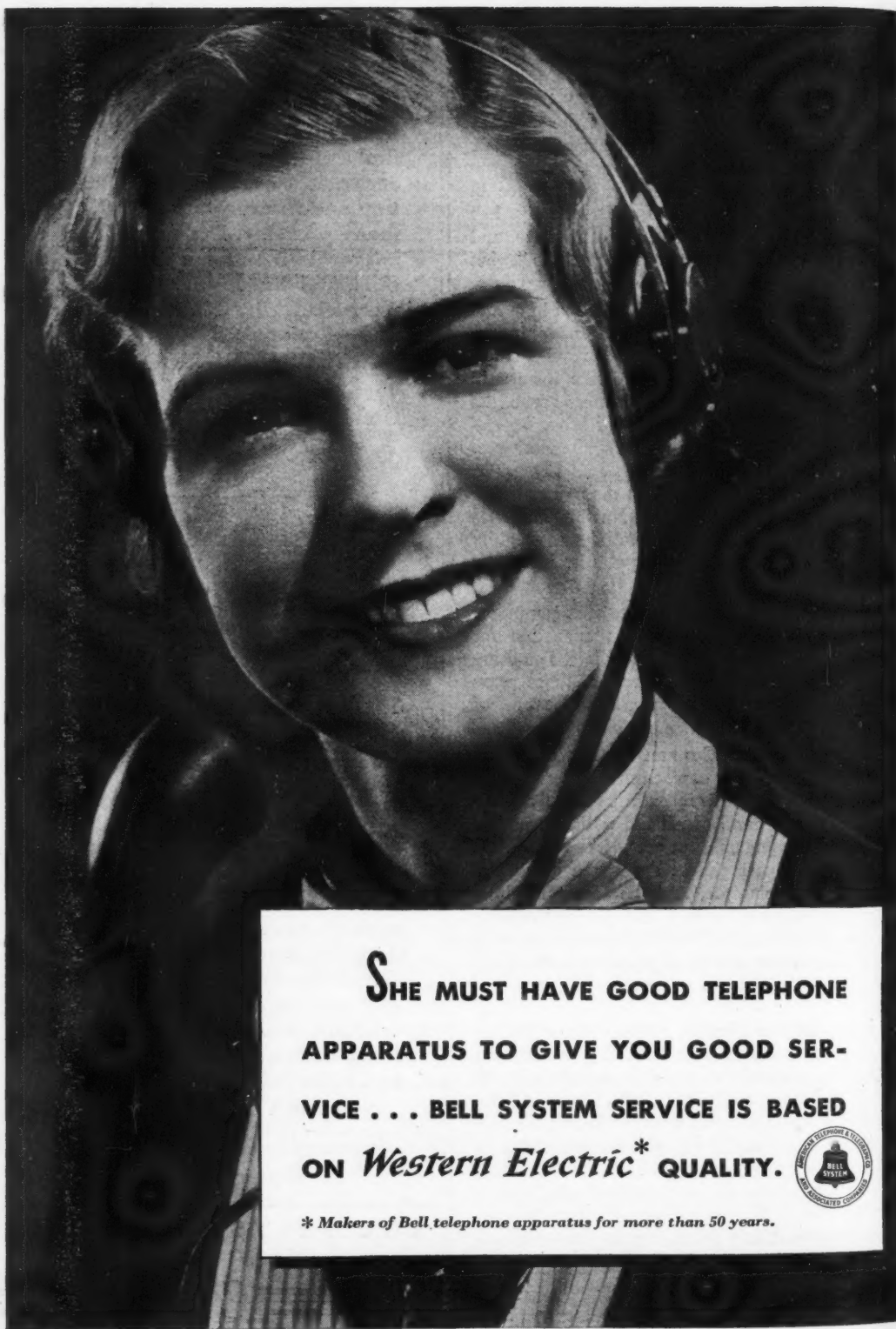
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JULY 1937

LOG OF MAJOR CURRENTS

Supreme Court and Social Security

ON MAY 24 in three historic decisions the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Social Security Act. Affecting directly 26,000,000 workers and 2,700,000 employers, the Act has been called the most comprehensive piece of social legislation in the world. And its validation is easily the greatest New Deal victory.

The decisions sustaining the program were, as before, divided with the unemployment insurance and old-age sections of the Act approved, respectively, five to four and seven to two, while the complementary State legislation was validated by five-to-four. In sum the majority opinions reflected a whole-hearted concurrence in the New Deal philosophy so often set forth by President Roosevelt, while the dissident opinions were as consistently irreconcilable. And if the prior difference of opinion in the court as to the constitution and its interpretation baffled the citizen, these most recent decisions should clarify once and for all the nature of the court division.

Judicial Opinion

Reading the majority opinions upholding the Federal sections of the Act, Justice Cardozo emphatically declared that the welfare clause of the constitution cannot remain "static." Behind the Cardozo opinion was the firm conviction that the Act was not only legal, but justified by contemporary economic conditions. Continuing in the humane tradition that has characterized his work Justice Cardozo held:

"Needs that were narrow or parochial a century ago may be interwoven in our day with

the well-being of the nation. What is critical or urgent changes with the times.

"The hope behind this statute is to save men and women from the rigors of the poorhouse as well as from the haunting fear that such a lot awaits them when journey's end is near."

Sharply contrasting this philosophy was the opinion of the dissidents presented by Justice McReynolds who revealed again the uncompromising position of the minority.

"We should keep in mind," Justice McReynolds warned, "that we are living under a written constitution.

"No volume of words and no citation of irrelevant statistics and no appeal to feelings of humanity can expand the powers granted to Congress. Neither can we, by attempts to paint a white rose red, view the situation differently from that seen by the fathers of the Constitution."

Swing Man

Perhaps, never before has the court cleavage as reflected in the two opinions been so revealed to the citizens. Here, in McReynolds' words is contained the spirit of negation that has hampered the President in his drive for reforms which, in the future, may prove all too mild and puny.

Most significant, nevertheless, is that the decisions indicate a liberal continuity in the court. Justice Roberts the Supreme Court "swing man" has apparently learned his turn nicely. And it is a tribute to the astuteness and diplomacy of Chief Justice Hughes that the prestige of the Court is, in some sense, preserved although in a badly battered con-

dition. However, among all men in and out of court, the President has played the greatest role in the judicial regeneration.

Court Plan

It is assumed that with favorable court action, and with the retirement of Justice Van Devanter, the President's court plan will be withheld from a direct legislative vote. It has served its purpose, and it is supposed that an

acceptable compromise plan will be brought forward and approved. For the President's criticism of a machinery that permits decisions of the national policy to be permanently endangered by one judge, remains valid. Justice Roberts is still the lone pivot. The immediate fate of the unemployment provision of the Social Security Act depended upon the direction of his "swing." One man against millions—a wondrous spectacle but a silly one.

Wages and Hours

NEVER before in the history of the nation has it been given to one man to say with confidence that: "The time has arrived for us to take further action to extend the frontiers of social progress."

Such was the beginning of President Roosevelt's message to the two houses of Congress immediately following the favorable decision on the Social Security Act. It was the opening gun in a drive to provide fair labor standards in hours and wages for the workers and to destroy child labor.

While examining the problem of working conditions the President emphatically pointed the way for legislative action to insure "all able-bodied working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." As for child

labor, he very carefully cited and reviewed an earlier attempt to exclude the products of child labor from interstate commerce, and the consequent Supreme Court ruling invalidating that law. Quoting Justice Holmes dissent from the majority opinion President Roosevelt said: "Although Mr. Justice Holmes spoke for a minority of the Supreme Court, he spoke for a majority of the American people."

In such allusions as this the President made it quite clear that he felt strongly that the Supreme Court with the proper revision would now uphold Federal legislation involving the relation of employer to employee. And this hope he maintained despite last year's Guffey Coal Act case when the Court held such relations outside of Federal jurisdiction.

Legislative Action

Following the President's message to Congress, Senator Black and Representative Cnery introduced identical bills into the House of Congress embodying the President's proposals. The chief provisions were: (1) creation of a wages and hours board empowered to deal with sectional economy; (2) abolishing oppressive labor practices; (3) exclusion from interstate commerce of goods made by children under sixteen, or in violation of standards created by the proposed board.

After some discussion it was decided to eliminate from the original draft of the bill any specified maximum and minimum in wages or hours. Instead it was decided that Congress should delegate power to the proposed Labor Standards Board to fix by industries a work-week of not more than forty hours and not less than thirty. For what exactly the minimum wages and maximum hours will be must wait upon the detailed analysis of regional sectors.

As has often happened before, the Presi-



BIG WORRIES IN THE LIFE OF A GREAT ENEMY



Glasgow Bulletin

DISTINGUISHED GHOST AT SPITHEAD: THE NELSON TOUCH

"He clapped the glass to his sightless eye, And 'I'm damned if I see it!' he said."

dent's message with its concurrent legislation inspired a flood of mingled approbation and indignation in the public press. The reaction of labor was more guarded. To some labor leaders it appeared that with the wages and hours bill the first wave of the employers' counter attacks upon their hard won positions had begun. Government control of wages and hours among the lowest paid workers would seriously cripple the C.I.O.'s campaign for membership among those workers who have most to gain through strong collective bargaining. This, at least was the first reaction. Since then labor through John L. Lewis has endorsed the principle of the bill with the exception of the minimum wage. This provision labor would endorse only in those industries where collective bargaining does not exist.

Employer Reaction

As for the employers they cannot agree. Some view the measure as a *coup de grace* to the future in foreign trade. Exports from America in the finished goods industry have been predicated in the past on a notoriously low wage. Although marginal producers always ready and waiting to exploit a cheap labor market have not only shipped their

coolie-made goods abroad but have infiltrated them into the domestic market cutting the economic throat of legitimate business whose only competitive sin has been that they have paid a living wage. This is, and was, the situation. And many employers welcome the government intervention believing that proper supervision will immediately liquidate the economic cannibals who sell tainted goods in the open market. Statistically, however, the proposed law (assuming that wages will be fixed at 40 cents an hour, and the work-week at a forty hour maximum) will affect the working conditions of a relatively small portion of our national industry. Marginal producers, of course, will disappear, and few will mourn their passing. But among, for example, the 9,644,000 workers (Bureau of Labor estimate) in manufacturing, not more than 1,500,000 are receiving less than 40 cents an hour. And as a whole American business has approached the forty hour week under the pressure of labor organizations.

Half the Story

A few more statistics may be cited which, of course, do not tell even half the story. In the rayon and silk industry little more than half of the workers receive 40 cents or more

per hour. While the cigarette industry reported in 1935 that 45 per cent of the workers received less than 40 cents an hour in an indeterminable work-week. A good deal more than half the workers in the paper box and canning industry are well below the estimated minimum of 40 cents an hour. Here, it would seem, in these industries the proposed wages and hours Board will have its first job and its most difficult one. After that the little chiselers, with their dank sweat shops, or darkened

cellars will have to be liquidated. In sum it is a tremendous task that will tax even the most expert. However, in the immediate future legislative debate on the proposed measure should bring out many gruesome facts concerning the existence or non-existence of an American standard of living. The Brookings Institute has already indicated that one third of our population do have a standard of living, one hundred per cent American, though swinishly low.

Steel Labor Meets the Old Guard

WHEN in March, the United States Steel Company reversed its long standing anti-union policy and signed a contract with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O., it was assumed that trouble in steel was over. Unfortunately this was not true. Three large steel companies all rivals of U. S. Steel recently asserted their independence and proceeded to deal with labor along lines that many believed outmoded.

When approached for signed union contracts the Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Inland Steel and Republic Steel—all located in a narrow strip through Northern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—rebelled. They announced that they would bargain under the terms of the Na-

tional Labor Relations Act, but would not under any circumstances sign contracts.

Bloodshed

The direct result of the impasse was almost as bloody as the infamous Homestead slaughter. In South Chicago, Ill., pickets clashed with police outside of the Republic Steel Company's plant where a strike had been called. Eight pickets were killed by police gunfire and more than fifty seriously wounded. Following the battle few combatants would agree as to its specific phases. The police accused the pickets of having employed clubs and brickbats. And the strikers pointed to their unarmed dead and wounded, and charged the police with murder.

Nevertheless the Republic Steel Company continued curtailed operations, maintaining non-strikers in the plants by means of food flown over the picket lines in planes. And for the first time in the history of American labor trouble an aerial war developed with (as the company declared) strikers sniping at the planes with high-powered rifles. In addition the company charged that food shipped through the mails was refused by postal officials, and that letters were opened and tampered with by pickets. This latter accusation brought a quick denial from postal authorities who, after investigation, found no evidence of postal violation.

Strategy

In Youngstown, Ohio the court ordered pickets not to interfere with non-strikers' access to the plants. And the Baltimore & Ohio railroad protested at strike interference with car loadings and reported the necessity of laying off men. Thus the labor struggle entered a



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

BOTH GOING STRONG

second phase in which both strikers and employers made a determined effort to garner public sympathy. As a counter-irritant the Republic Steel company inspired a "back to work movement among loyal employees," contending that outsiders with no stake in the Mahoning Valley were keeping local men from jobs.

In addition, both sides appealed to the Fed-

eral Government. The strikers demanded a rigid application of the Labor Relations Bill. The employers demanded armed protection for strike breaking activity. To both camps the Government indicated that there would be no Federal interference. While the Labor Relations Board bided its time waiting for some formal action to be instituted which would come under its jurisdiction.

Cardinal Mundelein vs. Paper-hanger

IT IS no secret that the German Nazis have seized the Catholic Church by the throat.

As early as 1933 a concordat was negotiated with the Vatican which, while denying the church political power permitted it to maintain authority over its youth organizations and schools. This latter provision, however, was directly antagonistic to the totalitarian ideal of the state. Control of youth is a pillar of fascism, and a pillar of Catholicism. The concordat intensified rather than eliminated clashes of authority. They became more frequent, and with them the suppression of Catholic publications and youth groups. The Catholics protested and were immediately harassed with civil and criminal charges, among the latter, damning evidence of immorality among the lay brothers of certain orders. Priests were arrested, tried, and convicted in a glare of publicity turned on by a contemptuous and cynical Nazi press.

American Catholics

And into the fires of this conflict George Cardinal Mundelein of the Chicago Archdiocese of the Catholic Church introduced himself before 500 prelates and priests gathered in conference. Without equivocation he bluntly and in detail attacked the treatment of Catholics in Germany.

"The fight is to take the children away from us," he said. "If we show no interest in this matter now, if we shrug our shoulders and mutter, 'Well there may be some truth in it,' or, 'It is not our fight'; if we don't back up the Holy Father, when we have a chance, well, when our turn comes we, too, will be fighting alone."

"Perhaps you will ask how it is that a nation of 60,000,000 people, intelligent people, will submit in fear and servitude to an alien, an Austrian paper-hanger, and a poor one at that, I am told . . . Perhaps it is because it is a

country where every second person is a Government spy . . . where the father can no longer discipline his boy for fear the latter will inform on him and land him in prison, where the young tenderly nurtured girl is torn from the mother's side and sent to labor camps to live with the slatterns of the streets in the dangerous years of changing youth . . ."

Nazi Back-fire

Such was Cardinal Mundelein's attack. It delighted anti-Nazis and infuriated the Nazis. In reply the Nazi press beat the anti-Catholic drums louder than ever. They accused the Vatican of sanctioning the speech; they made unofficial representations to the State Department; and triumphantly produced an endless list of priests who had also been busy corrupting tenderly nurtured girls and young boys.



CAN THIS BE SETTLED SOME WAY?

In the midst of the charges and counter charges, however, Professor Friedrich Schoenmann, a one time Harvard instructor, warned Nazi officials to stop the indiscriminate press campaign against the United States and Americans. "I think it is rather foolish," he said, "and at the same time dangerous, on the part of a certain section of the German press to indulge in wholesale criticism, and even in denunciation, of American civilization as a whole. We underestimated America once, and lost both the World War and the peace which

followed." Professor Schoenmann went on to say that in his opinion public sentiment in the United States could be mobilized for war against Germany in a few hours, if such a war were set forth as a great crusade for a great ideal.

Thus the Catholic Church moves forward in uncertainty. From Spain where priest accuses priest, from Mexico where it has met repeated defeats, from Germany where the Nazis turn Jesuitical weapons against it, the Mother Church receives nothing but bad news.

Mr. Baldwin Passes

WHEN Stanley Baldwin, David Lloyd George, and Ramsay MacDonald led the Conservative, Liberal, and Labor Parties of Great Britain, one observer remarked that their roles were strangely jumbled. Ramsay MacDonald, with his aristocratic predilections, should have led the Conservatives; Lloyd George was the revolutionary demagogue of the three; and Stanley Baldwin represented the easy-going Liberalism that characterized a declining party.

The Coronation has witnessed a substantial justification of this analysis. Lloyd George is a powerful engine, which no longer geared to the heavy machine of government, has been shaken loose from its frame by futile thrashing. The radicalism which upset the House of Lords and attacked the rich before the War is gone—save for occasional and erratic flickers. But the "Welsh wizard" can still electrify an expectant crowd or mercilessly lash the Government benches until established leaders bow their heads in humiliation.

Of the three Labor leaders who joined the National Government in 1931, Ramsay MacDonald was the last to leave office; "Jimmy" Thomas resigned in the shadow of disgrace as an indiscreet buffoon, and Philip Snowden is dead, consumed by the same fire and bitter logic that destroyed his own party in his election-eve speech of 1931. And now the burning Socialist from Lossiemouth, who first led Labor into power, has retired into a genteel oblivion. Regarded as an apostate by his foes, and looked upon, even by his friends, as a pathetically vain old man who could never give up the trappings of office, his last public gesture—the refusal of a title—was but a fleeting reminder of his fiery youth. His bequest to

English politics has been an indefinite period of Tory rule.

Baldwin the Liberal

Mr. Baldwin on the other hand, will not be remembered as a die-hard and uncompromising Conservative, but as the person who liberalized and broadened the base of his party. And his memory will shine the brighter for the fact that, in such sharp contrast to his immediate predecessor as Prime Minister, he knew when it was time for the last encore. He presents the paradox of a man who leaves office at the height of his substantial glory and yet whose image in the public mind will not change because he will prefer raising pigs and because, as one of his critics has remarked, he "has always been of the opinion that the best thing to happen would be that history should somehow just stop."

It is difficult to trace any thin red thread of consistency throughout Mr. Baldwin's career; probably to do so would distort the picture. He embodied—even caricatured—the "traditional British virtues," and this explains much of his success. His patriotism exercised an unfailing appeal to his countrymen. In fact, it first brought him into prominence, when he offered one fifth of his capital to the nation after the War. It was typical of him that, in his desire to avoid publicity, he made this offer in an anonymous letter to the *Times*; it was also typical of him that he unthinkingly signed the letter "F.S.T."—initials which gave away his identity, for he was then Financial Secretary of the Treasury. And in the same letter he laid himself bare, saying "I have been considering the matter for nearly two years, but my mind moves slowly; I dislike

publicity, I hoped someone else would lead the way."

He is not clever; but Winston Churchill is universally distrusted for his brilliance. And Mr. Baldwin's reputation for solidity and trustworthiness, his love of pigs, his pipe, and English literature have overcome what disabilities he has encountered through what some have called his "bumbling." For instance, only Mr. Baldwin could introduce the most crucial speech of his career with the *gaffe*, "I have had but little time in which to compose a speech for delivery today, so I must tell what I have to tell truthfully, sincerely, and plainly" and get away with it!

"Appalling Frankness"

And most Englishmen found themselves able to forgive his "appalling frankness" in November, when he said of the last election: "Supposing I had gone to the country and said that . . . we must rearm, does anybody think that this pacific democracy would have rallied to that cry. . . ? I cannot think of anything that would have made the loss of the election, from my point of view, more certain." For any other statesman, this would have been a gross betrayal of democracy. *The New Statesman and Nation* attacked the speech bitterly, saying that ". . . notoriously honest men . . . tell the truth nine times with a bluff and 'appalling' frankness in order the better to mislead us on the tenth occasion."

Mr. Chamberlain Meets the Empire

INSTEAD of the easy-going affability of Mr. Baldwin, Englishmen will now find themselves under the rule of the frigid austerity of Neville Chamberlain. They have exchanged a pipe for a hawk nose. Mr. Baldwin's horizon was limitless, although hazy; Mr. Chamberlain's is circumscribed, but sharply defined. If Mr. Baldwin liberalized his party, Mr. Chamberlain's accession to its leadership returns it to thoroughly Conservative hands, for Neville, the third Chamberlain, represents the imperialism rather than the progressivism of Joseph, the first of the family.

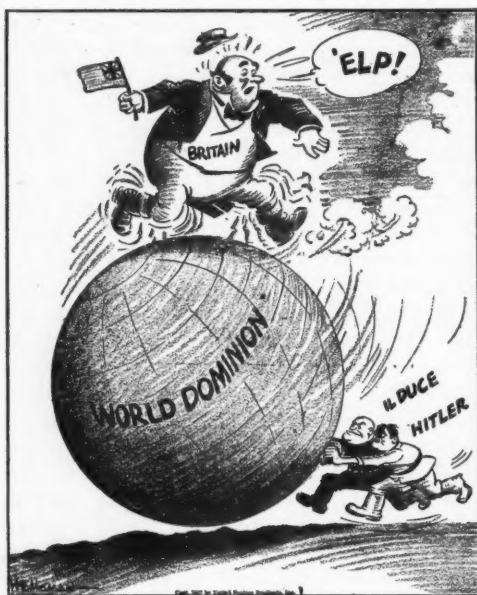
The new Prime Minister is a party rather than a national figure, and he will bring a firmer hand to the helm. So far as domestic issues are concerned, "Augur" reveals in *The New York Times* that "Mr. Chamberlain no

Mr. Baldwin posed as being above class and above party. He appeared at a highly social function during the General Strike of 1926 wearing the morning coat of the upper classes and smoking his thereafter famous pipe, which linked him with the common people; his reputation was made. But latterly there has been a growing suspicion that, in a crisis, he would sooner keep the morning coat than the pipe; he wisely retired as a national figure, before he became a class figure.

In all, Stanley Baldwin was a supreme mystic. He viewed events through an optimistic haze; it was much better to leave them alone, and everything would come out all right in the long run. He was incapable of reaching a logical conclusion and following it through. *Laissez faire*, in its widest sense, was the guiding rule of his life. Watching him as Prime Minister was like watching a drunken man on the trapezes; it was breath-taking, but he always managed to swing from one crisis to another, and the prophets of disaster, invariably correct in their criticisms, were just as constantly wrong in their predictions. And so Mr. Baldwin retires gracefully and opportunely as an old-fashioned Liberal; history will tell whether he was justified in his "do nothing" policy and that everything will come out all right or whether, by failing to face the issues of his times, he merely postponed the day of reckoning and accumulated for his successors a vast load of grief.

doubt will continue Mr. Baldwin's conciliatory policy toward Socialists, yet simultaneously will have to consider measures of resistance when the limit of practical concessions will be reached."

That limit will not be a very distant one, for Mr. Chamberlain's policies closely follow the interests of the industries of Birmingham, his constituency. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he has been the architect of the "new mercantilism" which characterizes English economic policy. The tariffs he introduced, the Ottawa agreements, the middle-class housing program, and the £400,000,000 rearmament loan all follow his pattern of a close national economy—for Great Britain a revolutionary step which does not differ categorically from the policy now pursued by the Reich. In this



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BUT HE'LL JOLLY WELL STAY THERE!

pattern, the new industries of the industrial midlands will benefit from the rising prices of a subsidized market, at the expense of the export industries and the consumer; as Mr. Chamberlain himself admitted, the rearmament program will lower the standard of living of the country for another generation. Among other things, this internal inflation will have the effect of crystallizing the protectionist policy of England and militating against the conclusion of significant trade treaties, such as that sought with the United States.

With respect to foreign policy, it is probable that the new Prime Minister will be a great deal more frank than his predecessor about the National Government's inherent contempt for the idea of a collective system. Rearmament and the Anglo-French Entente will be the cardinal points of British policy, even if Mr. Chamberlain harbors some suspicions of the Popular Front Government in France. Britain will continue to seek peace, even if in somewhat the same manner as a rich man seeks protection against burglars; it will be a *Pax Britannica*, and by no means a Genevan peace.

In Imperial affairs, he will lend his influence to the idea of an Empire more closely knit commercially and financially. In this, he follows out the conception behind the Ottawa

agreements and contradicts the liberal and centrifugal trend which followed the War. If he would not actually like to see the Commonwealth of Nations constituted as a defensive-offensive alliance, he would at least seek to bring the Dominions, whose interests often lead them elsewhere, into a closer support of the interests of the central and dominant power—Great Britain.

It was the Imperial field of foreign policy that first demanded the attention of the new Prime Minister. On May 14, the Prime Ministers of all the British Dominions, with the exception of the Irish Free State met for a post-Coronation Imperial Conference. The agenda included the subjects of foreign policy and defense, constitutional questions, trade, and communications; of these, the first bulked the largest, trade being closely allied with it.

The Conference itself was devoid of any striking decisions or any marked agreement. It was professedly held, however, for the purpose rather of surveying common problems and of establishing, if possible, machinery that would provide a framework for joint action in the future; in that the Dominions are now all autonomous powers, the difficulty of obtaining a unified policy was wisely recognized.

The most concrete outcome of the meeting was the plan developed for the pooling of supplies in the event of war; the details of this are to be worked out by the Dominion High Commissioners in London, working with Sir Thomas Inskip, the English Minister for the Coordination of Defense. Even at that, the plan will amount to little more than the regularizing of normal commercial relations. And, it should be mentioned, everything achieved by the Conference will have to be ratified by the Dominion parliaments to be effective. As far as the outside world knows, no agreement was reached on the delicate problem of Dominion participation in another war; the respective Prime Ministers are leaving that to their parliaments if and when the emergency arises and are fighting shy of commitments. The marked silence of the British press suggests some disappointment on this score.

With respect to the important category of trade, Premier Mackenzie King of Canada made an impressive plea at the opening of the Conference for a non-exclusive Commonwealth policy and an agreement with the United States. In fact, the general sentiment of the delegates was that an attempt to lower tariffs,

not only within the Commonwealth, but also between the Commonwealth and other nations would set a constructive moral example and act as an influence for peace in a way that would offset any economic losses sustained. Actual agreements were, however, left to the process of bilateral negotiation. And, when the conditions of an Anglo-American agreement came up for discussion, it became clear that considerable Dominion opposition would

be encountered, especially from Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, who hesitated to give up the preferences enjoyed in the British market as a result of the Ottawa agreements in the interests of American producers.

Thus, between Dominion reluctance and Mr. Chamberlain's protectionism, the chances for an Anglo-American trade treaty are not of the brightest.

Spanish Crises

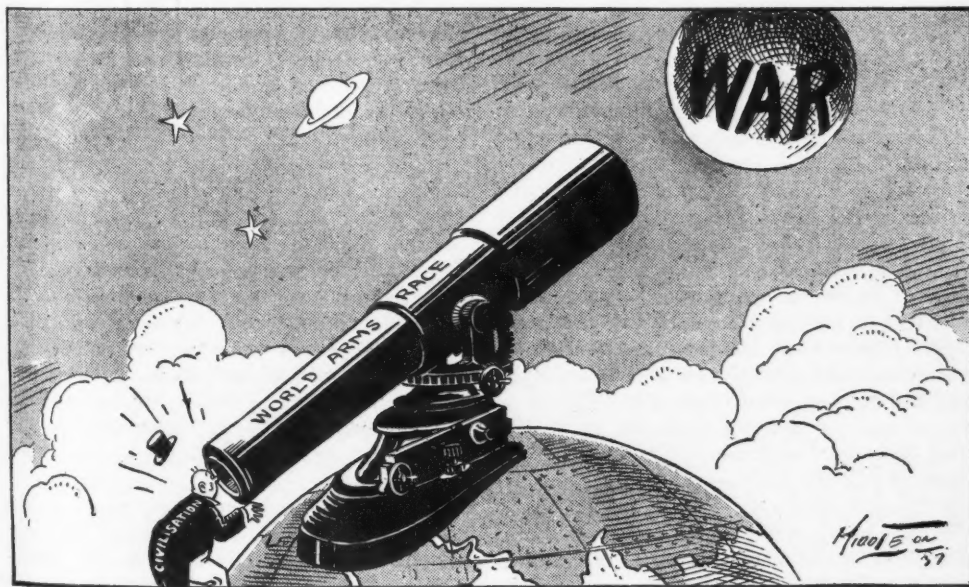
THE Spanish civil war threw up three crises during the course of the month.

The first was the international crisis following the bombing by the loyalists of the German battleship *Deutschland*; the second was the crisis in the rebels' ranks which resulted from the accidental death of General Mola, and the third was the political upheaval on the loyalist side which precipitated Premier Largo Caballero from office and installed in his place Dr. Negrin, the Socialist.

Of the three developments, the international one contained the most dynamite; from the

American point of view it was pregnant with possibilities sufficiently serious to evoke from Senator Borah the assertion that an act of war had been committed by Germany and to bring about the demand in certain quarters that the new neutrality legislation be applied to Germany and Italy and the present embargo on arms to Spain extended to the fascist powers.

The bombing of the *Deutschland* took place on May 29, while the ship was anchored at Iviza in the Balearic Islands. Despite the Valencia Government's allegation that the ship



Birmingham Gazette

THE GREAT TELESCOPE—BRINGING IT NEARER STILL

(The latest gigantic telescopes will be trained on Mars to-day when it will be at its nearest point to the earth)



Daily Herald, London

MOTHER WAR: "Would you rob me of my children?"

had been first to open fire, the Germans embarked upon bitter and bloody reprisals. On May 31, five German warships opened up a heavy bombardment of Almeria on the south-east coast, inflicting extensive damage upon the town and killing at least 20 persons, including women and children.

At Geneva

In strong contrast to this belligerency were simultaneous developments at the League of Nations in Geneva. On May 27, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the Valencia Government's delegate, presented the Council of the League with a White Book, *Italian Aggression*, containing 101 documents taken from captured or killed Italians in Spain. Its purport was to show that fully organized Italian military units were fighting against the loyalists, that their transportation and supplies had been ordered by the Italian war office, and that "all this is tantamount to invasion of Spain by Italy." The Valencia Government did not, however, demand that the League take action; instead the Council indorsed the idea, forwarded by the London Non-Intervention Committee, that hostilities should be limited by the withdrawal of foreign "volunteers" in Spain—part of the wider British plan for an armistice and compromise government.

Such peaceful propositions received a rude shock with the bombing of Almeria and the

subsequent withdrawal of Germany and Italy from the non-intervention scheme. General von Blomberg, of the German general staff was in Rome, discussing the possibilities of fascist military cooperation, and the danger of the Spanish civil war spreading to the rest of Europe was greater than at any time since its inception.

Great Britain and France immediately bent all their efforts to persuade Germany and Italy to return to the London Committee and to resume the job of patrolling the Spanish coast. The plan evolved, which seemed likely to be accepted, called for the establishment of safety zones for patrolling warships and the agreement to consult "with a view to further action" in case of a violation of these zones by the belligerents—the qualifying phrase being inserted at the insistence of Hitler.

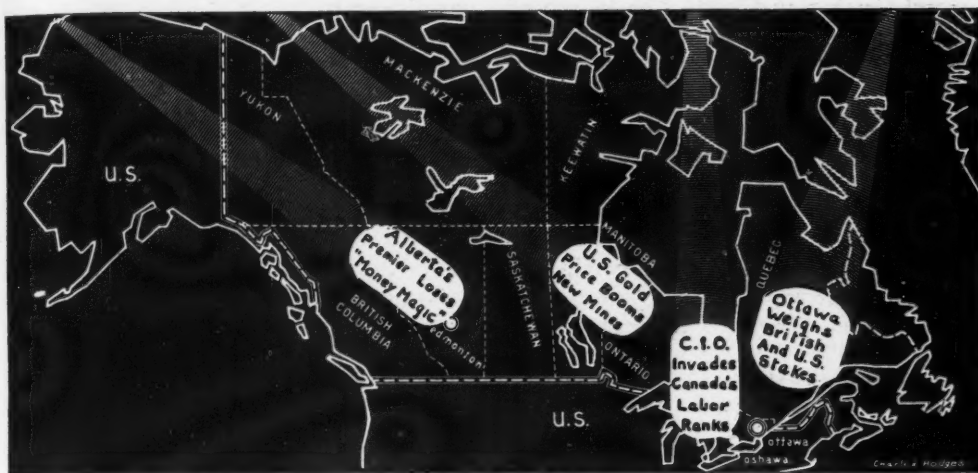
This proposal promises to improve the situation materially and to avert the danger of the war spreading. The Franco-Russian suggestion of a unified command for the patrolling fleets was, however, rejected. Consequently, it is not likely that intervention will be prevented by the patrol scheme any more than it has been hitherto.

New Loyalist Government

Within Spain itself, the political crisis in the ranks of the loyalists was more noteworthy than the milder dissension that followed the death of General Mola. The ultimate solution was achieved in an orderly and democratic way, despite the tension of the war situation. The new Cabinet, under the leadership of Dr. Juan Negrin, is more moderate than the Caballero Government and represents essentially the victory of the idea that all efforts should be concentrated upon winning the war rather than upon achieving the social revolution; it also springs from the demand that the defense ministries should be unified, which they now are under Indalecio Prieto. All parties, with the exception of the semi-Trotskyite Anarcho-Syndicalists, are represented.

The new Government should assure to the loyalists a more efficient execution of the war. Its relatively liberal and bourgeois complexion will also comfort Great Britain, in that the chances of social revolution are postponed. And the defeat of the Trotskyists will be welcomed in Russia, who is believed to have helped bring about this result.

SPOTLIGHTS on CANADA



Four articles on social credit, labor and imperial relations.

The Truth About Aberhart

By BURTON T. RICHARDSON

WHEN William Aberhart became leader of the world's only Social Credit government in the Province of Alberta, his qualifications for the position consisted of a smattering of Social Credit doctrine, a life-long study of the Bible, twenty-five years of teaching elementary mathematics to school children, and ten years of blasting Satan on the Sabbath into a microphone. He had written a ten-cent pamphlet on Social Credit, setting forth his promise to begin paying \$25 a month to all within eighteen months of taking office. This handbook became a best seller in Alberta a few months before the voters were called to their quinquennial duty of electing a government. It contained his claim that an end of depression could be had by the "wondrously simple" plan of free dividends, which he would engage experts to install.

The pamphlet is two years old now, its promises thoroughly discredited in the eyes

of many electors who voted for Aberhart. Active and disillusioned, his followers are turning away from his economic hocus-pocus. An inglorious demise is being prepared for the witch doctor of Alberta. In the words of a Social Credit cabinet minister, "the jig is up." The end is written in no dividends, no Social Credit, no experts, and now no longer any faith in the pious pledges of the prairie prophet. As for Mr. Aberhart, while his political house of cards has tumbled about his ears, he has returned to his heart's first allegiance, the Scriptures. "I am satisfied," he told his congregation on a recent Sunday, "that without God there is no hope of deliverance." This announcement left Social Credit in Alberta just about where the Premier found it.

In a characteristic diagnosis of the world's ills, Premier Aberhart once said the trouble was "a religious-economic blight". For two years his religion, an extreme fundamentalist variety, has been the hand-

maiden of his government. Bible-bigot and pulpit-pounder, Aberhart believes in the Second Coming of Christ. The leisure of his life has gone into exhorting the people to seek the safe hill-top of salvation against the flooding wrath of God. He hotly denied, after becoming Premier, that he was a religious fanatic. When one interviewer went away and wrote that he was, Mr. Aberhart explained: "You and I don't know when Christ is coming. Now listen carefully. Seven years before the coming of Christ, the Rapture shall take place. This will be when the Lord appears in the clouds. The Rapture has not taken place yet." Mr. Aberhart frequently expressed the conviction that he would be taken from his post of duty at the Rapture, but the accumulated grievances of his followers seem certain to anticipate the working of this prophetic miracle.

In palmier days before depression, Mr. Aberhart developed hot-gospeling into a profitable business. It paid him dividends in the shape of a \$65,000 Bible Institute as a forum for prophetic revelations and a multitudinous following in Alberta that elected him to an \$8,960 a year job. Hard times in the early 1930's cut down the flow of funds and the Aberhart salvation crusade turned to the bright promises of pseudo-economics. It emerged in the depth of Alberta's depression as a powerful political party. It wrecked the 14-year rule of the United Farmers' Party and swept a Social Credit administration into office with one of the biggest majorities in the history of any of Canada's provinces.

That election day launched Alberta into the biggest political gamble of its young life, and in its 30 years, the province has speculated extensively in political fads and social frills. But conditions were bad, and any chance seemed worth taking. The price of wheat, which measures purchasing power, was low. Rural debts were correspondingly high. Drought had cut deeply into farm income. Creditors were slow to realize the desperation that gripped the debtors. So in a mood of economic bewilderment and reckless speculation, Alberta

called in the theocrat of Calgary and hoped he could make good with his promise to pay dividends.

Politics and Salvation

The record of the Aberhart régime in Alberta is the story of an administration operated on the principle that the end of the world is just around the corner, and that salvation is a case of now or never. The result offers proof that a mixture of salvation and politics is no solution for economic problems. The voters placed their trust in Aberhart, in part at least, because of his reputation for saintly endeavor. It was a common saying in the first few months of his régime that Alberta would be sure of capable government even if Social Credit turned out badly. The verdict of two years is that Alberta got neither.

Aberhart did not lead the people of Alberta across the Jordan to Social Credit's Promised Land. A majority opinion says he led in the wrong direction. But he has made Alberta a different place to live in by pursuing policies never mentioned in the glad days of the election campaign. Then the simple mechanism with which to usher in the New Era was \$25 a month for adults and pro rata handouts for children. The remedy was to be nothing more than giving the people an income in credit, and all other trouble would be ended. Since Social Credit came to power, the front pages of Alberta have recorded his onslaughts on the present system of finance, his enforced reductions of public and private debts, his defiant and arbitrary attitude towards the Federal Treasury (whence provincial aid flows in time of stress), his bungling experimentation with scrip money, his efforts to impose thorough-going control on business, his threats to curb the freedom of the press, the growing scandal of inept and inefficient administration, and lately, the growth of conflict within his party over what to do next. But the story for which everyone waited—the payment of dividends—remained unwritten.

Alberta under Aberhart has laid aside some of the raiment of the present system,



Times Wide World

ALBERTA'S ABERHART: *As a pulpit-thumping lay preacher, for twenty years, he interpreted the apocalyptic passages of the Bible as a direct warning that the last days were at hand. Then he discovered Social Credit.*

as if in readiness for a newer economic dispensation. "You can never borrow your way to prosperity," said Premier Aberhart, as if expressing a self-evident truth. The province is no longer borrowing because it has no credit left. Simple repudiation through refusal to pay more than half the interest due on bonds turned out to be one Aberhart remedy. The bonds dropped 40 per cent in market value.

By another law, creditors were stripped of the right to collect in court the full amount of old debts. "It is absolutely necessary," said Premier Aberhart, "for the people to be freed from economic bondage." But the multitude of honest debtors who would avoid the courts are still waiting for deliverance. The debt-reducing law was declared invalid in court. The Social Credit government cried out at the "blocking tactics of the opposition," and declared a general moratorium. In effect, the prophet of Social Credit has brought Alberta to a state of financial nudity by nul-

lifying the ordinary processes of public and private contracts and credits, without providing the substitute system of social credits.

Gesell's Theory

The story of scrip, an engaging monetary interlude in the life of Alberta, represented a deviation from the pursuit of Social Credit. "The people will never be free," Mr. Aberhart pontificated from his pulpit, "until they learn to circulate their own credit." For the purpose of testing what he described as "the circulation of our credit," he turned to the theory of Silvio Gesell, an advocate of demurrage money. There is an extensive literature on Gesell's proposals, which may be placed with those of Douglas, though unrelated thereto, among the contributions of self-made economists to the monetary problems of the age. To the extent that a full-blown theory of money may be reduced to a sentence or two, Gesell's proposal was to ap-

ply a rate of depreciation to currency in order to adjust it to the perishable quality of the goods which it distributed. This, he argued, would iron out the ups and downs of business depression, frustrate the money-lender and remove the evil of fixed charges in a system of fluctuating factors.

Neither the fine points of Gesell's argument nor the implications of it figured in Mr. Aberhart's experiment with demurrage money in Alberta. What he was after, the Social Credit premier said, was to train the people to use their own money, so they would be ready to use their own credit later on. "We must cease using the monopolist money-changers' tools," he said. He issued stamp scrip, calling it "Prosperity Certificates." Nearly 325,000 certificates of \$1 face value were put into circulation. The holder of each was required to affix a one-cent stamp every Wednesday, so that in two years each certificate would return to the treasury \$1.04 through stamp sales. The scrip went out as road relief wages in August, 1936, and later small amounts were sold to civil servants. The scheme failed almost from the start, and to maintain the scrip at par, the government opened the treasury to redeem it once a month. Gradually almost the whole amount was redeemed, and against the cost of \$300,000 redemptions, the treasury took in \$20,000 in stamp sales. "The Bible," said Mr. Aberhart to a rural audience, "says that money is the root of all evil. You don't believe it, as you love it too much." In any case, hard cash remains the people's choice in Alberta.

Overnight Economist

Economics, as a modern maxim goes, is easy for anyone who has not made a life's study of it. William Aberhart became an economist overnight. He read a book on the theory of Major C. H. Douglas, Scottish author of Social Credit and, adapting it to his own convictions, substituted the Satan of his religious beliefs for the villain of the theory, which is the money power. Supported by the special emphasis which supplants logic in the Aberhart pulpit, the

mixture passed around Alberta as revealed truth. In part, its success was due to Douglas, who provided a dialectic that lends itself to the facile interchange of the Money Power and the Prince of Darkness. Mr. Aberhart discovered this by accident. He conferred an aura of sin upon the bankers (of which they are suspect, in any case, in western farm regions during hard times), and erected a political movement upon his discovery. "Social Credit," he said, "is an economic movement from God Himself."

The relation of Major Douglas to Alberta is one of the disputed chapters of the Aberhart story. When campaigning for office Aberhart promised to summon Douglas to install Social Credit. "All I would do," he said, "is . . . sit by his side, listen to him and get all the information I could." He became Premier and inherited from the previous government a contract binding Douglas to act as reconstruction adviser to Alberta. But when Aberhart came in, Douglas made excuses and would not act. The ingenuity of his excuses lend interest to a barren and lengthy Aberhart-Douglas correspondence. For Aberhart's part, he was committed to inviting Douglas, but was glad at first to tackle the new social order alone. Douglas confined his efforts to giving advice from long range, and writing privately to friends in Alberta. From his home in London, he ridiculed Aberhart's proposals to balance the budget, to impose new taxes, and to reduce expenses. The theorist across the Atlantic insisted that Aberhart was on the wrong road. After several months, the Social Credit premier stood it no longer, and accused Douglas of "dog-in-the-manger tactics."

Excluding the experiment with Prosperity Scrip, Premier Aberhart can claim three attempts to call a Social Credit system into being. He wrote three Social Credit acts into the laws of Alberta. This was the nearest the theory came to being tried out, as none became operative.

In the first session of his legislature, in April 1936, the Social Credit Measures Act provided for a commission of inquiry into "proposals having for their object the in-

crease of the purchasing power of the consumer by means of social dividends." Any feasible proposal could be put into operation by order-in-council. There was no limit to the power vested in the government by this statute, but other than a preliminary, voluntary registration of citizens desiring dividends, the power was not used.

At no stage did Mr. Aberhart reveal an inkling of the nature of credit. When his party was running for office, he wrote: "We do claim that we can allow credit out of thin air. Credit can be made out of thin air, just by a stroke of the fountain pen." His second attempt to legislate Social Credit into being came on September 1, 1936, with a statute based on the "thin air" theory. The Alberta Credit House Act of that date provided that book entries of credit be opened for registered citizens, who would have the privilege of drawing upon their accounts by voucher, or check, when they wished to pay grocery or other bills. No accounts were actually opened, and no one had the opportunity of testing the grocer's willingness to accept such a check. "Alberta Credit," as projected in this statute, was credit without benefit of monetary claim either on the taxpayer or any other productive source. The scheme was inoperative, but Mr. Aberhart's education was proceeding slowly. After six weeks he said: "If the people do not cooperate maybe I will have to throw up my hands and say I can do nothing for you."

The third and last legislative endeavor came in April, 1937, when the Aberhart government gathered up all its former legislation, added several clauses inspired by the Social Credit model bill which Representative T. Alan Goldsborough of Maryland has twice introduced in Congress, and put in a few new paragraphs of its own. The resulting omnibus statute was the Alberta Social Credit Act of 1937. The preamble of this Act affirmed that Alberta was "inhabited by a virile, intelligent, and industrious people," for whom existing means of distributing wealth were inadequate. The statute's intentions and possible operations were confused in a mass of de-

tail, and it was stillborn like its predecessors. The "thin air" theory of credit was abandoned, for the most part, and backing for Alberta Credit provided in tax money. The treasury was to be the ultimate source from which dividends were drawn. The Aberhart government, with party troubles on its hands, has avoided seeing how far it could go with the scheme. Administration of the act was vested in a commission of three to five members, which in turn was to be appointed by a board of five private members of the legislature. The board decided to stake everything on a last attempt to entice Major Douglas to Alberta. Douglas has remained in England.

A Rising Storm

The decline of Aberhart began to outrun his efforts to establish a new social order before he got his last Social Credit bill through the legislature. In 1935 he promised to produce results in 18 months. In January last as the time limit drew near, his party began to rebel. The Premier attempted to calm the rising storm. "We have at last," he said, "come to the place where we propose to take our first definite step."

Nothing happened, and in six weeks the deadline arrived. Mr. Aberhart mounted his pulpit and made a confession. "As you know," he said, "in spite of all our efforts, we have been unable to introduce Social Credit." He could, he thought, if given time, install a new order by gradual stages. "But, if our supporters desire another leader, I should like to know." He asked for directions within three months or so, and meanwhile he would stay on the job.

His followers began to voice their views more quickly than he anticipated. Within a week a group of rebellious members organized a campaign of opposition to government policies, directing fire on Aberhart and his tax-increasing budget. Party bickering grew like a family quarrel. The premier heard himself accused repeatedly of double-crossing his followers. One of them said he played Dr. Jekyll on Sundays and Mr. Hyde during the week. In consternation Mr. Aberhart exhorted: "Don't let

there be mutiny among the crew!" As a deadlock continued, Premier Aberhart abruptly adjourned the legislature in order to refer the issue to the rank and file of his party. This was the final blunder of his career, for the breach that began in the legislature spread rapidly through the party, and the Social Credit movement fell into bitter and hopeless dissension, the cause into disrepute.

The marks of Aberhart's fruitless quest for Utopia will remain upon Alberta's political life for a long time. A party adhering to the once-proud banner of Social Credit lingers in the field, its future dim. An intensity of past conviction supports the feeling that a grain of truth may yet be found in prophetic economics. The defunct

prophet provides an easy scapegoat for failure, and the belief that Aberhart betrayed the cause prevails among his former supporters. Argument is still largely futile against Alberta's vision of the New Age. So the crusade that Aberhart evoked will remain a factor in provincial politics. Alberta has a reputation for marching out of step with the rest of Canada. Still the white robes of yesteryear are tattered and soiled. The Social Credit mandate has expired.

"If the people have not suffered enough," said Mr. Aberhart when he was still a respected schoolmaster, "it is their God-given right to suffer some more." This remains the benediction from the prophet of Social Credit as Alberta recovers from its bizarre flirtation with government by revelation.

Canada's Santa Claus: F. D. R.

By J. H. GRAY

AS FAR as that particular bill was concerned, there was probably no country farther from President Roosevelt's mind than Canada. Yet his signing of the gold revaluation law April, 1933, had a more profoundly beneficial and abiding effect on the whole Canadian economy than all the other administration bills since Lincoln. By a single stroke of the pen, he moved Canada's financial capital five degrees to the left—from Montreal to Toronto, precipitated the greatest mining stock boom the country has ever seen and, through the impetus his law gave mining development, did more to hasten Canadian recovery than the combined efforts of all the Canadian statesmen.

One of the most conspicuous features of the Canadian scene, when Mr. Roosevelt was elected, was the veritable rash of vacant brokerage offices that pock-marked the country from stem to stern. The collapse of base metal prices following the Wall Street crash knocked the Canadian mining market on the head and drove broker after broker into bankruptcy and some to jail

for bucketing their clients' orders during the boom. The customers who had managed to save anything from the industrial crash were cleaned out by the bankruptcies.

The revulsion of feeling toward all mining stock for the next two years went so deep that an attempt to float a new issue, even with hundred-dollar bills attached to the certificates, would not have paid postage stamps. The leading stocks among the base metals had declined to truly incredible depths. Sudbury Basin skidded from \$13.75 to .16, Ventures from \$14.85 to .16, Hudson's Bay from \$23 to .93, Coast Copper from \$66 to .50, Sherritt-Gordon from \$9.90 to .18, Pend Oreille from \$16.95 to .45, International Nickel from \$73 to \$4.15, and Noranda from \$70 to \$11.75.

These were the blue chips of the mining market and were in everybody's portfolio along with the odd gold stock. Obviously, such calamitous declines as these were bound to affect the prices of the gold issues, but at the darkest hour of the depression the latter were not down more than 50 per cent from their peaks. Their earning power was

unimpaired and, on the basis of 1932 lows, they were earning and paying about 16 per cent dividends.

Gold stocks were thus in a position to react to any favorable development. Indeed, it was the sharpening of the economic crisis that led to a revival of market interest. The necessity of making large payments in New York sent the price of American funds to a premium of from 10 to 20 per cent over the Canadian dollar. The gold mines, instead of shipping their output of gold direct to New York to realize the higher price, sold it to the Canadian Government at current New York prices. This had the effect of swelling the producers' profits, and in the case of marginal producers with low-grade ore bodies or unusually high costs of production, the difference in price transformed loss into profit.

Constant reiteration of news of the increased earnings and dividends of the gold mines, the only bright spot on an otherwise black horizon, caused some increase in the brokerage business, but there was a more important effect elsewhere. Instead of buying listed stocks on the exchange, many speculators put their money into syndicates which grubstaked prospectors to go into the north to look for new gold deposits. As a result, hundreds of men beat their way into the bush in northern Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia. Most of them came out empty-handed, but some rich strikes were made—just as President Roosevelt stepped into the picture to re-value gold.

As he gently raised the price from \$20 to \$35 an ounce, the stock market in the major gold mines leaped to life, and such proven producers at Lake Shore, McIntyre, Dome, Teck-Hughes, Wright-Hargraves, and Hollinger doubled, trebled, and quadrupled their stock market values. From a low of \$9 in 1932 Dome spurted to \$40 in 1933, and the others all skyrocketed through their 1929 highs. These stocks, however, were altogether too expensive for most of the speculators who were attracted to the market. They turned their attention to the "dogs and cats" of the exchange lists

—to the penny stocks that had been kicking around for years. Others, scores of them, were in various stages of arrested development. Quotations on these issues ranged from minute fractions of a cent to 30 or so cents a share.

Mines which had been closed reopened, and scores of others that had long since lost hope of ever paying a dividend found themselves with fat balances in the bank. It was in these stocks that the boom really started. Twenty dollars would buy 100, 500, or 1,000 shares, and thousands of Canadians brought in their cheques for \$25, \$50, and \$100 and took up certificates in the penny issues. The market responded nobly as the country was bitten by the gold bug, and some fantastic profits were made in the "cats and dogs." With the profits they acquired, more stock was purchased not only on the exchange but in the hundreds of new properties that were being opened up. Some idea of the nature of the profits made may be gained from the following table, which shows the height of the rise of some of the most popular issues.

	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>
Bagamac	.01	.60
Central Patricia	.02	5.00
God's Lake	.25	4.30
Kirkland Hudson	.20	2.50
Lamaque	.25	9.00
Little Long Lac	.50	8.00
Macassa	.40	7.80
McLeod Cockshutt	.04	5.05
McMillan	.02½	.75
O'Brien	.30	14.00
Pickle Crow	.70	9.00
Preston	.20	2.25
Read Authier	.27	5.70
San Antonio	.30	6.10
Thompson Cadillac	.05	1.60

These are but 15 of the outstanding examples, and the list could be expanded almost indefinitely. From a low of 76,000,000 shares in 1932, the share turnover on the Toronto mining exchange reached a peak of 450,000,000 shares in 1936, or 120,000,000 above the 1928 level. At the end of 1936 the total value of the mining stock listed on this exchange, which now far outranks the Montreal market in importance, reached \$2.5 billion.



Triangle

F. D. R.'s GIFT: This British Columbia miner probably owes his job to the Gold Bill.

Protecting the Chumps

With the public aroused from its lethargy and the boom well under way, the stage was set for the unscrupulous promoters and high-pressure gentry, and they invaded Toronto by the bargeful early in 1934. Fortunately, just as the process of divorcing the chumps from their life savings was getting under way, Ontario had an election. One of the first steps taken by the new Liberal Government after it took office was to fire the securities commissioner and appoint John M. Godfrey, K.C., to the office.

Save for the election of Mr. Roosevelt in 1932, Godfrey's appointment was the greatest break ever given either the chumps or the mining industry. Absolutely independent and impeccably honest, he could neither be bought nor intimidated. He proceeded first to hire a crew of young zealots and then went after the Wallingfords. Within

a year he had smoked most of them out and driven them from business. He instituted rigid licensing of brokers together with periodic auditing of their books, forced all security issuers to get his permission before they could offer any share or security to the public, banned the use of telephone solicitation, and undertook to see that the money subscribed by the public actually went into the development of the mines and not into the pockets of the promoters. Cracking down unmercifully on the high-pressure gang, he saved the mining industry from ruin and is, more than any one else, responsible for the generally orderly, honest, and efficient manner in which the mining development has taken place.

But to say this is not to say that there has been no seamy side to the boom. There have been a few downright swindles, and numerous properties with high surface values have been proven barren at depth. Gold may still be where you find it, as the old-time prospectors used to say, but gold mines are no longer found—they are made. They are made, in northern Canada, by boring shafts down through hundreds of feet of solid rock and then tunneling through the bowels of the earth to intersect the veins that showed on the surface. The very nature of the deposits foredoom four out of five prospects to failure. When they have failed, the stock has collapsed in price. But the significant feature of the present boom is that the crashes have never been sufficiently numerous and drastic to shake the confidence in the market or seriously retard the flow of money for development.

Since President Roosevelt's momentous pen-scratching, several hundred million dollars have been made by speculators in mining stock. And while the mining market enjoys its greatest boom in history, it is in itself but the surface flowering of roots his brainwave spread throughout the whole Canadian economy.

Canada, with its less than 11,000,000 population, has been developed mainly by outside capital. It has been variously estimated that between \$2.5 billion and \$4 bil-

lion has been invested here by United States investors. Prior to the depression, repayment of interest and principal on these investments was possible through the export of goods and services, but when the economic crisis stopped world trade, and the United States practically ceased to import Canadian goods, repayment was possible only in gold. In the years following the crash it became increasingly difficult for Canada to meet its bond interest due in New York. One of the main factors in saving it from default was the increased supply of newly mined gold. In 1931 the country produced 2,700,000 ounces of gold valued at \$62,000,000. In 1935 production reached 3,300,000 ounces valued at \$115,000,000, and last year it touched an all time peak of 3,700,000 ounces with a value of \$130,000,000.

New Mines and New Business

It is these figures, far more than all the stock-market data producible, which tell the story of the effect of revaluation on Canada. Since the bill was signed, hundreds of new mines have been opened up from one end of the country to the other. In 1931 there were only 30 producing gold mines in Canada. Today there are 130, and by the end of 1937 it is expected that the number will have passed 150. Some of these new producers are old mines which had shut down because they could not operate at a profit at the old price of gold. Others, perhaps the majority, are new mills, many of them in districts unknown before 1932. East of the wheat belt, most of the gold production in 1931 came from within a radius of 75 miles of Kirkland Lake, Ontario; the producing area has now expanded far eastward into northwest Quebec and a thousand miles north and west into northern Manitoba. Several thousand claims have even been staked in the Northwest Territories, and British Columbia has 35 producing mines and twice as many prospective producers. In far northern Manitoba, from Flin Flon to the eastern boundary, more than a dozen properties are being developed in what was virgin

bush in 1931. Similarly, in northern Ontario there are now five new mining districts between Lake Nipigon and the western boundary.

At the present time there are probably 500 properties in various stages of development. It has been the development of these raw prospects into producing mines that is responsible for much of the economic recovery that has been made in this country.

When all other forms of construction were at a standstill, it was the huge orders for mining equipment that kept the heavy industries going. Transporting it to the mines meant millions of dollars of revenue for the railways and thousands of jobs in the bush. With the young mines located anywhere from five to 100 miles from the nearest railhead, roads had to be cut through the bush and barges built to carry the machinery to the property. In the winter the hauling is done by powerful Diesel-engined tractor trains and, where possible, in the summer by water routes. After the machinery is in, the roads must be kept open for supplies. Accommodation must be made for anywhere from 100 to 500 men, and the houses must be of substantial construction to withstand the long winter.

Just how many men have obtained employment in Canada through gold revaluation is difficult to estimate, and the figure has been placed at between 40,000 and 75,000 in the mines alone. This does not begin to cover it, for there is undoubtedly at least as large a number again indirectly affected in the foundries, lumber camps and saw mills, machine shops and explosive plants, etc. As new town sites spring up, there are probably as many people getting livelihoods from the mines and miners as there are actually working in the mines. And these new towns are spreading like mushrooms throughout the north country.

Thanks to our Washington Santa Claus, the whole Canadian northwoods is now a hive of industry, and the million dollars a day it is pumping into circulation has had its effect in the remotest corners of the Canadian economy.

But alas, just as everybody had become

accustomed to the new prosperity, somebody discovered a gaping hole in the bottom of Santa Claus' bag. In raising the gold price to \$35 an ounce he set economic forces in motion which may eventually force him to cut the price. Thirty-five dollars an ounce is an uneconomic price, the experts avow, and as a result the United States Treasury is being flooded with gold for which it has no use. The rumor that a cut in price was contemplated in Washington started the rush to get out of the gold stocks early in April, and as this is being written the rush is still on. The stock market index dropped to 50 per cent of its early 1937 high.

Not even the gloomiest prophets have

predicted, however, that the price of gold will ever go back to \$20.67 an ounce. The worst they can see at present is a reduction to around \$30 an ounce. But even if the price did drop to the old figure, the black disaster the happy optimists of yesterday would see would be illusory. The stock market might go to pieces momentarily but when the dust was all cleared away there would still be 50,000 men working in the northern woods who were not there five years ago. That is President Roosevelt's contribution to the Canadian economy. It alone will assure him of a place in Canadian history when everything else he did, tried to do, and failed to do is long forgotten.

The C.I.O. Comes to Canada

By GRAHAM SPRY

CANADIAN relations with the United States are marked by a curious periodic cycle. About once every twenty years a fever rises in the Canadian blood, we discover that our national existence is menaced by some sinister threat from south of the border, and in the midst of tremendous popular excitement we gird up our loins and save ourselves once more from the United States. In the late 1880's a movement for Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States was only finally beaten by Sir John Macdonald's famous campaign of 1891 in which he proclaimed the immortal sentence: "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die." Twenty years later, in 1911, in a still more exciting Reciprocity campaign, we repudiated Laurier's deal with President Taft and resolved to have "no truck or trade with the Yankees." During the 1930's another anti-American outbreak has been obviously overdue. The two Reciprocity campaigns arose out of the unpatriotic desire of Canadian farmers to solve their economic difficulties by finding markets in the United States. Today in 1937 it is Canadian labor

which is being swept by a wave of unpatriotic unionization activity under the leadership chiefly of the C.I.O., and once again our patriots have been girding up their loins.

In spite of countless pages about the Coronation, the news which Canadian newspaper-readers have been following with greatest interest this Spring has had to do with events in the labor field, chiefly in Ontario and Quebec. April 1937 saw more labor disturbances and more man-hours lost through strikes and lockouts than any month since the period of the great Winnipeg strike at the end of the War.

The most exciting of these events so far has been the strike in the General Motors plant at Oshawa, Ontario, a strike which was eventually won by the workers with the practical recognition of their union, Local 222 of the United Automobile Workers of America. General Motors of Canada is a company which is completely owned by General Motors Corporation of the United States. The parent concern does not even publish a separate financial statement of its Canadian operations, and its senior execu-

tives at Oshawa are mostly men who have been sent there by the American management. Canadian industrial centres are full of American branch plants of all kinds. Yet the organization of the employees at Oshawa under the guidance of U.A.W.A. organizers, only one of whom came from Detroit, was greeted by most of the press in Toronto and Montreal with cries of "foreign agitators," and ever since the strike broke out these journals have been trying to work up an anti-American hysteria. The Prime Minister of the province, the Hon. Mitchell Hepburn, intervened personally in the efforts of his labor conciliation officer to settle the strike and held up settlement for some time by his dramatic refusal to deal with the chief C.I.O. representative, Hugh Thompson. Both Prime Minister and the papers who supported him denounced the C.I.O. movement as being lawless and violent in its American home, as aiming at dictatorship, and as being dominated by communists. The *Toronto Daily Star* formed a conspicuous exception to this general press campaign, defending the right of the workers to organize under whatever leaders they might choose and pointing out that international A. F. of L. unions and union organizers have been a familiar feature of the Canadian labor world for years. It may be added that the Oshawa strike itself was completely free from disorder.

The chief difference between the present anti-American campaign and the last one of 1911 has been the refusal of the public to become very excited about it, although there is plenty of controversy about the issue of unionization.

In its main features, with certain significant differences in the French province of Quebec, Canadian labor history has followed the developments of the United States. In early days some of the first Canadian labor unions were affiliated with British trade unions; but this tie has long been broken, and since the end of the 1880's the A. F. of L. has dominated organized labor in Canada as in the United States. Canadian labor has also followed the Gompers tradition in its general refusal to go into politics.

There have been occasional labor members in some provincial legislatures, and since the Winnipeg strike there has been a contingent of two or three in the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. The socialist third party in Dominion politics, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, is a federation of farmer and labor parties which originated in Western Canada in 1932 but which has not so far won the official support of the trade union movement in Ontario or in Quebec.

According to figures issued by the Dominion Department of Labor, there were in 1935, the latest year for which official statistics are as yet available, 280,704 trade unionists in Canada. The peak year in trade-union history was 1919, when membership was 378,047. In 1929, just before the depression, it was 319,476. In 1935 trade unionists represented about 2.6 per cent of the population. Railroad employees made up about one quarter of the total union membership, and formed by far the largest single group. Most of the unions were craft unions, and the so-called mass-production industries were largely unorganized.

Of the 280,784 trade unionists, the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (A. F. of L.) represented 125,779. The All-Canadian Congress of Labour had 54,025 members. National Catholic unions accounted for 38,000. International unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. (mostly the railroad brotherhoods) had 28,776. The rest were in scattered units. Altogether there were 143,570 unionists in international unions and 137,134 in purely Canadian organizations.

Canadian Unions

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada dates its origin from 1873. It includes all the A. F. of L. unions who have branches in Canada, and it unconditionally accepts the prerogative of the A. F. of L. in adjudicating upon trade-union and jurisdictional disputes. Because it represents much the largest single body of unionists

in Canada, it is usually chosen by the Government to supply the labor delegates to the I.L.O. at Geneva. It has had to fight in the past against efforts both by employers and by the Canadian Senate to prevent its organizers from passing freely across the international boundary. But its international affiliations have long been accepted without question. And no doubt the cynics are right when they say that the real objection to the newly-arrived C.I.O. is not its American origin but its effectiveness in organizing industries into which the A. F. of L. unions have never been able to penetrate.

In 1902 there was a split in the Trades and Labour Congress, when Knights of Labor Assemblies and all local Canadian unions whose sphere of operation overlapped with that of established A. F. of L. unions were expelled. The result was the formation of an independent national Canadian Federation of Labor. This body has gone through various vicissitudes. Since 1927 it has been known as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. Its main appeal is national, and it contends that the American connection interferes with effective work in the Canadian field and drains off Canadian workers' fees into American treasuries. There have been occasions in Toronto when the A. F. of L. unions have accused the A.C.C.L. unions of what practically amounts to strike-breaking. The bad relations between the two groups certainly cause a serious weakening of the labor movement in English-speaking Canada. Since the C.I.O. unions invaded the Canadian field this year the national unions have been giving support to the employers in waving the anti-American flag. During the past year there has been a split in the A.C.C.L. itself, due apparently to internal rivalries, and the national union movement is now divided into two factions.

The I.W.W. once played a big part in Western Canada, and it still reports a membership of slightly over 4,000. In addition there is the O.B.U. (One Big Union), formed in 1918 in the West and getting a great boost from its connection with the

Winnipeg strike. In 1935 it reported 24,055 members.

The unique feature of Canadian trade unionism is the existence of the Catholic unions in Quebec. They date from 1901, in which year, following the adjustment of a labor dispute in Quebec city by the Archbishop, there was formed a local Catholic union of shoe workers. Each Catholic union has a priest as chaplain and accepts the guidance of the Church. There is now a Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada claiming 38,000 members. The movement represents a determined effort by the French Catholic Church to keep a control over its parishioners which shall be as effective in the new industrial areas as it has always been among the habitants in the rural villages. The Catholic unions repudiate "the false principle of the conflict of classes" and are very reluctant to indulge in strikes. Naturally they are more acceptable to the employers than international unions, and with the favor of both employers and the Church they form a barrier to the growth of international unions in French Canada.

Governments and Labor

To understand the present labor situation in Canada some account of the relation of Federal and provincial governments to labor questions is also necessary. A Federal Department of Labor was first established in 1900 and was administered by the Postmaster-General till 1909, when it became a separate Department, with a Minister of Labor in the Cabinet. Its organization in these early years was under the direction of a young economist with a graduate degree from Harvard, William Lyon Mackenzie King, who is now the Liberal Prime Minister of Canada. Mr. King, while still the senior permanent official in the Department, was instrumental in putting through the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907. Under this legislation the Government was given power to intervene at the invitation of either party in labor disputes in mines and public utilities. A board of conciliation and investigation

was to be set up, and no strike or lockout could take place until the board had made its report. This Act attracted world-wide attention, and it has proved to be a very successful bit of labor legislation in spite of legal difficulties in the courts as to the jurisdiction of the Federal authority in labor matters. During the 28 years down to the end of March 1935 the Government had set up 538 boards to deal with various disputes, and in all but 38 cases strikes or lockouts had been averted.

Mr. King has always been very proud of his Industrial Disputes Investigation Act and of the work of the Department of Labor generally. He himself, when he was Deputy Minister in the Department and then when he became the political head of the Department under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had direct personal experience in labor conciliation work. During the War years, when he was out of office in Canada, he served as Director of Industrial Research for the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States. As a result of his experience he published at the end of the War a book entitled *Industry and Humanity*. One could guess with some confidence that this book has never been read by Mr. Hepburn, the Liberal Prime Minister of Ontario, who is a wealthy farmer, nor by his chief advisers. It states very emphatically that industry must become a partnership between capital, management, labor, and the community, and that autocratic government in industry must be superseded by a system in which all the parties to industry are represented. Mr. King is especially severe upon employers who talk and act as if an industry was their own exclusive property. But when he returned to office again in 1921 he did little to implement the fine sentiments of *Industry and Humanity*. His Government has steadily avoided responsibility on the plea that labor questions fall within the jurisdiction of the provinces.

Mr. King's predecessor as Prime Minister of the Dominion was the Conservative Mr. R. B. Bennett, who began to toy with New Deal ideas during the last year of his term and passed a series of laws by which

provision was made for unemployment insurance and for the regulation of hours and conditions in industry. Mr. King's Government referred these Acts to the Courts, and they have been declared *ultra vires*. Since no province by itself will impose conditions on industry which may drive employers into neighboring provinces, and since the Dominion cannot now impose national standards, this means that in these matters there will be no regulation of industry at all. Mr. King's Government shows no sign of any determination to get over this stalemate, which is eminently satisfactory to the employing class, by new legislation or by constitutional amendment. He cannot "pack" the Court, for it is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council located in London, and over its composition the Canadian Government and people have no control whatsoever.

The Federal Government has one other important point of contact with labor. It controls the militia forces of the country. It has also a special Federal police force, well known to all devotees of Hollywood, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The splendid fellows of this force, however, have other duties besides those of galloping over the prairies and falling in love with beautiful Hollywood heroines. Included in these duties are those of labor spying and maintaining order during industrial troubles. Their activities in these fields have made them justifiably well hated by the whole of Canadian labor.

The provinces of Quebec and Ontario have also their own provincial police forces. During the Oshawa strike the federal government, on the request of the Ontario government, sent a detachment of the Mounties to Toronto to be ready in case of trouble. But the two governments disagreed as to the use of these men and they were withdrawn by Ottawa. Premier Hepburn then proceeded to recruit and train a new special force (in addition to the regular provincial police) for the protection of Ontario against the alleged lawlessness of the C.I.O. These have not yet been used. In Oshawa itself there was not the slightest

hint of disorder, nor has there been any sign of disorder elsewhere in the province. The Prime Minister's activity led to the resignation from the provincial Government of his Minister of Labor and his Attorney General, two Ministers whose sympathies with labor were well known. Further division in the Liberal Party is also reflected in Premier Hepburn's public disavowal on June 3 of loyalty to and association with the Federal Liberal organization of Mr. Mackenzie King.

Ontario and Quebec have each passed New Deal legislation providing for the establishment of standard wages and hours of labor through agreements between employers and employees in individual industries. Such an agreement made by any group in any given industry may, if approved by the Minister of Labor, be extended by him to the industry as a whole. This legislation was not welcomed by the employers, since its tendency is to encourage collective bargaining, but it is being applied by administrative action in ever-widening circles in both provinces. Nova Scotia has recently passed the most advanced of all labor laws in Canada. It makes collective bargaining compulsory, outlaws yellow-dog contracts, and provides for the check-off of union dues.

Fascism in Quebec?

Since the Oshawa strike the most significant developments on the labor front have been in Quebec. The French province is meeting new conditions in a way of its own. For some time the combined efforts of the French Catholic hierarchy, big business (including the big newspapers) and the provincial Government have been devoted to the building up of a clerical fascism which is without parallel elsewhere in North America. Active elements in the Church have been preaching the ideals of corporatism as an alternative to capitalist democracy. Premier Duplessis has been busy by legislation and administrative action in undermining the civil liberties that used to be taken for granted in British

communities. An hysterical campaign against communism has been whipped up, and both clerics and politicians are making loud appeals to French racial and religious solidarity. There is no doubt that the Catholic unions fit into the scheme of things as envisaged by the ruling groups in Quebec and that the international unions, whether C.I.O. or A. F. of L., do not. It is too soon yet to know what the masses of French-Canadian workers may think or do, but it is significant that two C.I.O. strikes, one in Cornwall, Ontario, and a more recent one in Montreal, were aggressively supported by the French-Canadian workers.

There are some signs, therefore, that the establishment of a fascist régime may meet with popular resistance. The garment industry in the Montreal area has just gone through a strike conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and won by them in spite of both clerical and political opposition. A wage agreement had been made between the manufacturers and the Catholic union in the industry. It turned out that the agreement set a level of wages lower than those allowed by the Minimum Wage Act of the province. At any rate, the I.L.G.W.U. refused to accept it. The Church authorities, displaying a remarkably Christian attitude towards the employers, who are mostly Jews, suggested that the I.L.G.W.U. was both anti-Catholic and communist in its tendencies. The Prime Minister threatened to arrest the leaders of the strike. But whatever the reasons may have been, the workers in the industry, mostly French Canadians, emphatically resisted these appeals. The I.L.G.W.U. leaders were not arrested and they won their strike for recognition and better wages.

As for Ontario, the C.I.O. claims to have enrolled 60,000 members already. So far both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders have tried to avoid trouble with one another in Canada, but the fight between the two bodies will probably spread from the United States. There has been trouble in the Hamilton (Ontario) Trades and Labor

Council, which includes unions of both groups, and the initiative here came directly from A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. The future in Canada depends upon what happens in the United States. At the moment, confronted by the twin dangers of Americanism and communism as allegedly personified by John L. Lewis, the Canadian people appear to be

fairly calm. If the C.I.O. continues its triumphant advance in American industry, neither the A. F. of L. nor Canadian employers nor Canadian provincial governments will be able for long to resist it in Canada. In labor matters, as in so many other matters, we can forecast our Canadian future by examining the recent past of the United States.

Canada Between Two Worlds

By THE EDITORS

TAKING into consideration the facts that Canada is the United States' second best customer, that this country is a substantial partner in the economy of her northern neighbor, that the ground-plan of Canadian society is, save for the French, essentially American, the interest in and knowledge of Canada existing south of the border is negligible.

To some Americans, Canada conjures up visions of Rin-Tin-Tin performing feats worthy of a Sherlock Holmes across frozen wastes, or of Mounted Police relentlessly "getting their man" against an Arctic backdrop. Coming south a latitude or so, others picture the endless prairies of the "granary of the empire," generally farmed by the unregenerate offspring of the British aristocracy who have been sent out to "the colonies" to "make good" in a last despairing effort for redemption.

Then again, some recall the headlines of the astonishing monetary wizard of Alberta—discussed elsewhere in these pages—who sought to bring heaven and \$25 a month for everybody to earth by normal legislative means. Or they are constantly reminded of the incredibly fertile and incomprehensible French-Canadians by the five child-faces which gape insistently from cereal advertisements. They may applaud or condemn the ebullient Mr. Hepburn's stand against the C.I.O., even though they do not remember that, earlier in his career, he offended against all the highest capitalistic tenets by repudiating some of the

Ontario Government's power contracts.

Compare these fleeting impressions with the proximity and similarity of the two countries. There is no need to labor the obvious geographical fact that Canada is a North American nation; she shares with the United States 3,000 miles of frontier—a boundary which, to the everlasting delight of every after-dinner speaker, is undefended. Commercial relations are close. It is estimated that \$18,500,000,000 of business capital is invested in Canada; of this approximately 62½ per cent is Canadian-owned, 15 per cent comes from Great Britain, and the substantial proportion of 22 per cent is owned by the United States. And of Canada's investments abroad, an estimated \$1,254,000,000 has been placed in the United States, whereas only \$109,000,000 has been invested in Great Britain and some \$664,000,000 in other countries. The United States imports more from Canada than from any other nation, and finds Canada a buyer second only to the United Kingdom. From the Canadian point of view, her southern neighbor accounts for 47 per cent of her export and import trade, while the United Kingdom is responsible for 31½ per cent of the total. The United States is Canada's best source of supply and accounts for the bulk of her total export and import trade, although the United Kingdom is her best customer.

The close commercial relations undoubtedly weld a close bond between Canada and the United States. Among other

things, Canadian and American tastes in commodities are similar, Canadian trade unions are affiliated with American ones (see *The C.I.O. Comes to Canada*), and American branch factories lay down an American industrial technique for Canada.

These similarities extend beyond the economic sphere, for it is inevitable that an immediate and powerful neighbor of some 130,000,000 inhabitants should affect strongly a country with a population of only a little over 10,000,000.

So much for the similarities between Canada and the United States. Let us consider the differences. The first of these is a general one—the spirit of independence in Canada. This has developed with the growth of nationhood. Its outward and visible sign is Canada's membership in the League of Nations and her autonomous position in the British Commonwealth of Nations. But of more importance is the deeper feeling that she can stand on her own feet and does not want any interference from outside—a sentiment which applies both to Great Britain and the U. S. A.

The second factor which distinguishes Canada from America—and from England, for that matter—is the French-Canadian population, 88 per cent of which is concentrated in the province of Quebec. It is a significant but not generally recognized fact that the French account for nearly 30 per cent of the Canadian population (28.22 per cent according to the 1931 census figures). Bound together by the Catholic Church and by their strong racial consciousness, and gaining strength from their prodigious birth-rate, the predominant key to the French-Canadians is their consuming desire to maintain their racial and cultural identity against the twin threats of Protestantism and Americanism.

The Imperial Tie

The third important factor differentiating Canada from the United States is the Imperial tie. Canada's relationship with the United States is physical and immediate; her connection with Great Britain is

psychological and traditional. Although she recognizes the King of England, as represented by the Governor-General, as her King, she is under no legal compulsion whatsoever to follow the British lead.

Just now this dual relationship with Great Britain and the United States is a splitting headache to Canadian statesmen, as the war issue accentuates its difficulties.

Broadly speaking, Canadians divide into three groups on this question of foreign policy. There are first of all the ardent Imperialists; they would follow Great Britain "right or wrong" and would flock to arms on the outbreak of war just as readily as the whole nation did in 1914. They are strong in conservative, industrial and financial, and military circles; geographically they are strongest in Ontario.

The strict nationalists comprise the second group. Their point of view is essentially a North American one, and they look at Europe in the same way as does the United States. They point out that Canada would have nothing to gain from participation in another British war and, while they admit the strength of the protection afforded by England's armed forces, they feel that Canada's geographical position is a better guarantee of safety. In this group can be numbered the French-Canadians, Eastern radicals and Western isolationists.

The third group—the supporters of the League of Nations—is notable more for the convenience than the realism of its particular solution. Ideally speaking, this program seeks to avoid the bitter internal conflict which would inevitably follow the exclusive pursuit of one or the other of the two previous policies during a crisis; it would attempt to avert that crisis by preventing war and, even if unsuccessful in that aim, it would only commit Canada to participation in a "League war" arising out of the application of sanctions. Formerly composed of a substantial body of moderate liberal opinion, this group has inevitably lost strength with the passing of the League. Its remaining adherents may now be virtually classified with the Imperialists, in that a "League war" tomorrow would be

a very different matter from the original—and somewhat more idealistic—conception. Other members, disillusioned with the present English Government's insincere support of the League's ideals, have slipped off into the ranks of the nationalists.

As for the Government, it is uneasily poised between the two extremes. It cannot commit itself to either one, for by doing so it would split the nation from coast to coast. Nothing illustrates its position more clearly than the recent defense appropriations. The original estimates called for an expenditure of \$50,000,000 on the Army, Navy, and Air Force. The sum was criticized strongly—especially by the Middle Westerners in the Liberal Party—as being much too large for the mere defense of Canada and as being designed for overseas use, and the Government was forced to reduce the figure by some 30 per cent. Mr. Ian MacKenzie, the Defense Minister, asserted that "the entire conception of Canadian naval, military, and aerial defense," was based upon the protection of the Pacific or Atlantic coasts from sporadic raids by sea or air. Yet he did not mention from what quarter these raids might be expected. Nor did he explain just what use tank regiments would be for these purposes. And many Canadians are suspicious of the degree of cooperation between Canadian and English military authorities. Mr. Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, suggested that the increased armaments could be used to defend the country against communism. Like Mr. MacKenzie's statement, this explanation does not hide the obvious fact that Canada has provided itself with the nucleus of a fighting force which could be used in an Empire war.

Mr. Mackenzie King did not shed much more light upon the situation when he said, "What we are doing is for the defense of Canada and of Canada only," adding, however, the very significant qualification, "But I hope that will not be construed to mean that we are not thereby making some contribution to the defense of all English-speaking countries and all democracies."



PREMIER MACKENZIE KING: "*What we are doing is for the defense of Canada, and of Canada only, but . . .*"

What the Canadian Government is actually doing is following two policies—the nationalist and the imperialist—at once, without making any commitments in either direction. There is no realistic middle-of-the-road policy, such as might have been afforded by a workable League of Nations, and the Government does not wish to provoke unprecedented internal dissension either by advocating rigid neutrality, implying a much closer relationship with the United States, or by converting the Imperial tie into a military alliance, which would mean certain involvement in the next British war.

This dilemma explains the ambiguity of Canadian foreign policy. It also explains Mr. King's unwillingness to assume any commitments at the recent Imperial Conference and his notable plea for an all-round lowering of tariffs, which he feels, in sympathy with Secretary Hull, may prevent an emergency which holds out to Canadians the unpleasing prospects of external war or internal scission, or both.

PUZZLE IN THE PHILIPPINES

*What will happen when the Islands cut loose
the last strings binding them to Uncle Sam?*

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

THE Philippines, that archipelago of green lush tropical islands in the southern Pacific, with their sugar plantations, cocoanut groves and hemp fields, and their largely undeveloped mineral resources, represents one of the international problems on which America must soon make up its mind. During his recent visit to the United States, the President of the Philippine Commonwealth, Mr. Manuel L. Quezon, suggested an advancement of the date of independence from 1946 to 1938 or 1939.

Apparently there is no great opposition to this proposal on the American side. But if the Philippines are to embark on their career as an independent nation within such a near future, there are several points on which America must make a decision. It is stipulated in the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which regulates America's relations with the Islands at the present time, that United States troops are to be withdrawn as soon as the status of independence is realized. But whether America is to maintain a naval base is a question which has been left open for future discussion. An international neutralization agreement has been suggested as a means of assuring the future safety of the Philippines against foreign aggression. Could such an agreement be reconciled with the spectacle of American warships riding at anchor in the Bay of Manila? And what, if any, commitments should America undertake to maintain the neutrality of its former dependency?

The question of future trade relations is very important. The Tydings-McDuffie Act provides that existing free-trade commercial relations are to be maintained until 1940, subject to a quota system which

limits the amounts of Philippine sugar, cocoanut-oil, and cordage that may be shipped to America duty-free. The limits are 850,000 tons for sugar, 200,000 tons for cocoanut-oil, and 3,000,000 pounds for cordage. Beginning with 1941, the Philippine Government is obligated to levy a tax amounting to five per cent of the American tariff rate on its exports to the United States. This tax is to increase annually by five per cent, so that a figure of 25 per cent will be reached by 1945. After full independence is realized the regular American tariff schedules will be applied to Philippine products and the Philippines will be free to impose tariffs on American goods.

This arrangement has been widely criticized in the Philippines as unfair, since it preserves a preferential status for American goods while gradually raising trade barriers against Philippine products in America. This is apparently one of the considerations which induced President Quezon to propose that the date of independence be advanced.

The economic and hence the social and political outlook for the new Republic of the Philippines will be greatly affected by the solution of the trade problem between America and the Philippines. Under the sunny influence of free access to the richest market in the world, the Philippines have tended to turn into a vast sugar-bowl. Sugar is the backbone of the Philippine economy at the present time. It represents about sixty per cent of the country's exports. In value it is worth almost all the other agricultural crops taken together. It furnishes a livelihood to millions of people and provides the Government with about half of its normal revenue. And the whole

of the crop, except for a small part which is consumed within the Islands, is sold to America.

There can be little doubt that the imposition of the full American tariff will sound the death-knell of the Philippine sugar industry, with all the political, economic, and social dislocations which this is likely to entail. Philippine sugar cannot compete on equal terms with the Cuban and Javan product. Cuba is much closer to America, with the result that freight and interest charges are appreciably lower. Java is better adapted to sugar cultivation, and the plantations there are better organized.

Other industries besides sugar will be partly or entirely extinguished if the Philippines are shut out of the American tariff system. One of these is cigar-making, which gives employment to tens of thousands of workers in and around Manila. Theoretically, of course, the Islands could become more self-sufficient and turn to the production of palm-oil, spices, and other tropical products which are in demand in America. But the Filipino is not as a rule a very enterprising business man, and it will not be easy to compete with other tropical countries in new lines of cultivation.

So America faces the question whether it is worthwhile, for the sake of promoting sales of American goods to the Philippines and also with a view to averting the disorder and civil disturbance which might be not unreasonably expected as a result of a sudden lowering of the standard of living, to conclude a new trade agreement with the Philippines which will maintain some elements of mutual commercial preference after the political ties between the two countries have been severed. In the present mood of America it may be easier to grant commercial concessions than to assume political commitments which would expose the United States to the danger of being drawn into a Far Eastern conflict over the Philippines.

Since November 1935 the Philippines have been under a transitional, so-called Commonwealth régime, which is supposed to serve as a bridge between the former



Pictures

L'ETAT C'EST MOI: One of his admirers once said that Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth, "has more power than Mussolini." Mr. Quezon is shown above as he chatted with reporters on his recent visit to Washington.

American administration and complete independence. An elected Filipino President now occupies the former residence of the American Governor-General. Executive and legislative powers, so far as internal affairs are concerned, are in Filipino hands.

The United States Government, however, retains extensive reserved rights during this transitional period. It may "intervene for the preservation of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and for the maintenance of the government as provided in the Constitution thereof." American financial interests in the Philippines, although not very large (a competent authority has estimated the total American

investment there at about \$75,000,000) are carefully safeguarded under the Tydings-McDuffie Act. So the President of the United States may suspend the application of any law which, in his judgment, will result in the failure of the Commonwealth Government to meet its financial obligations. His approval is also required for any amendment to the Philippine Constitution, which is closely, although not slavishly, modeled on that of the United States.

Authority and Responsibility

During the Commonwealth period America has the right to maintain military and naval forces in the Philippines. There are now about 4,000 American troops stationed in and around Manila. Six thousand Philippine Scouts, Filipinos who have enlisted in the American Army, are also in the Islands. The American Asiatic Squadron has its main base at Cavite, on the Bay of Manila. Philippine foreign relations are in the hands of the United States Government. So, pending the granting of complete independence, America has retained both potential authority and potential responsibility.

About a year and a half have elapsed since the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth. What have been the results of the cessation of direct American administration; what have been the first steps toward nationhood?

The feature of Philippine life that strikes the visitor most forcibly at the present time is the hectic boom in gold-mining. It is no exaggeration to say that every other person I met in Manila and in the provinces was either directly connected with gold promotion in some capacity or at least displayed a lively interest in the rise and fall of the mercurial gold stocks. Almost 350 gold-mining companies have been organized; sober outside observers estimate that about one-tenth of these offer serious investment prospects. Heavy mortality is anticipated among the others, and many Filipinos who have plunged their money into the boom may find that gold-mining is an even more expensive form of gambling than the

old favorite national sport of cockfighting.

Apart from the purely speculative features of the boom, which are certain to cause a corrective reaction in time, there has been a substantial rise in Philippine gold output. Gold is widely scattered over the Islands, the mountainous parts of Luzon, largest and most populous of the archipelago, being one of the richest regions. But the veins, as a rule, are not particularly thick, and a good deal of capital expenditure and engineering work is required before the ore can be extracted.

The rise in the price of gold that was the accompaniment of the devaluation of the dollar gave just the needed stimulus to the Philippine mines. It created a margin of profit for working many deposits where the cost of extraction, at the old price, would have exceeded the return. The result has been that the output of the yellow metal has almost trebled during the last four years, and the Philippines now ranks fifth among the gold producers of the world. The output of gold in 1932 amounted to 244,292 ounces, valued at 10,200,107 pesos, or about 5,100,000 American dollars. By 1935 the production had risen to 449,086 ounces of gold, which realized 31,436,028 pesos; and the value of gold mined in 1936 was about 45,000,000 pesos. An output of 80,000,000 pesos within the next decade is considered not improbable.

The immediate furore over gold should not obscure the fact that the Islands possess other forms of mineral wealth which may, in the long run, prove more valuable. The output of iron has now reached the figure of half a million tons a year, all of which is bought by Japan. The Island Empire is also a ready buyer of chromium, an ore which is very useful in the manufacture of armorplate and stainless steel. There are large chromium deposits in the Masinloc district, on the coast of Luzon, north of Manila. Copper and manganese deposits are known to exist, but have not yet been exploited on a large scale. Oil in commercially profitable quantity has not been discovered in the Islands.

Designs for the Future

With America in the background as both a protective and a restraining force, the first 18 months of the Commonwealth cannot be regarded as a fair test of the probable course of events under an entirely independent Filipino régime. Yet some designs in the future national pattern are already being worked out. As might be expected, the character of the Philippine state is being influenced both by the Spanish-Malay racial and historical background and by the political and social trends which have been making themselves felt all over the world since the War.

Three contemporary influences are especially perceptible in the Philippines today. One is the trend toward strong personal government. The second is the universal urge, quite as strong in Asia as in Europe, toward increased armaments. The third is the growing belief that the state, while asserting more authority over its subjects than old-fashioned liberalism would approve, should also assume positive responsibility for remedying social injustice and promoting general welfare.

"Strong personal government" is incarnated in Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Commonwealth Government. With a background as publicist, lawyer, and nationalist agitator, Quezon possesses a quick and volatile mind, a *flair* for the spectacular, and a highly developed capacity both for rhetoric and for satire.

Although the Philippine Constitution is a democratic document, Quezon has succeeded in concentrating a vast amount of authority in his own hands. One of his admirers, General Paulino Santos, Chief of Staff of the newly organized Philippine Army, said to me: "Our President has more power than Mussolini." What Santos meant as a favorable statement, Quezon's enemies often say in criticism, using the term "fascist" to characterize the present state of affairs.

This is an exaggeration; if the Philippines are to go in for a Spanish-Oriental brand of fascism the experiment must wait at least until the last traces of American

supervision are removed. It is true, however, that Quezon has given a strong and, on the surface at least, unopposed lead in the shaping of legislative and executive policies. The single party in the unicameral legislature has been a docile instrument in his hands, obediently passing all the bills which he recommended. The nationalization of the police force and the vesting in the President of the right to appoint the mayors of the larger towns have enhanced Quezon's grip on the administrative machinery.

A board of censorship headed by the Minister of the Interior censors all radio programs. A bureau of information, which has been set up to keep the people acquainted with the Government's activities, is mildly suggestive of the organized state propaganda that is such a feature of the modern-style dictatorship.

Quezon is an ardent advocate of military preparedness and heaps scorn on pacifists and opposition critics who, as he says, would try to protect the Islands with wordy speeches. And the new scheme of national defense, like the gold boom, is one of the things that strikes the attention of the observer soon after he gets off the ship in Manila. Military parades are a frequent sight in the streets and parks; high-school and university students may be seen drilling; all over the Islands one finds barracks and equipment in the scores of camps which have been opened to train the Philippine Army.

The MacArthur Plan

This force is being organized according to a plan worked out by Major-General Douglas MacArthur, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army, who is acting as military adviser to President Quezon. The latter, with his love of dramatic gestures, has appointed General MacArthur to the rank of Field-Marshal in the Philippine Army.

The MacArthur plan calls for the combination of a comparatively small standing army of 19,000 with a large trained citizen reserve. 40,000 men are to be trained for

five and a half months every year. An annual appropriation of 16,000,000 pesos (about a quarter of the budget) is reserved for the Army.

General MacArthur, with whom I talked at length during my recent visit to the Philippines, professed entire confidence that his plan would provide adequate security against foreign attack. In support of this belief he emphasized the difficulties of transporting large bodies of troops for overseas operations, as shown at Gallipoli during the World War, and pointed to the rugged and difficult nature of the Philippine terrain as a valuable defensive factor.

"The threat to large surface ships of small fast torpedo-boats, supported by air detachments, was recently indicated in the Mediterranean," he declared. "Practical landing places for large forces in the Philippines are few in number and difficult in character. The vital area of Luzon, in which seven million Filipinos dwell, presents in all its long shoreline only two coastal regions in which an army of any size could land. Sixty per cent of the national terrain of the Islands consists of great forest areas, impenetrable by powerful military units."

Not all observers are as optimistic as General MacArthur about the ability of the Philippines to defend themselves if they are thrown entirely on their own resources. The northernmost of the seven thousand islands of the archipelago can be seen on a clear day from the southern tip of Formosa, and Japanese mandated islands hem in the Philippines from the northeast and east. Japan is, of course, overwhelmingly superior in naval and air power. It is doubtful whether the Philippine Government can raise the money or develop the technical resources to maintain a powerful air force of its own.

The third point in which the Philippine régime is in line with modern trends is in the establishment of more state control over economic life. A National Economic Council has been created for the purpose of advising the Government on economic and financial questions and formulating an eco-

nomic plan based on national independence. A rice and corn corporation, capitalized with state funds, has been set up with a view to promoting self-sufficiency in food and stabilizing the price of rice, protecting the peasant producer, so far as possible, against exploitation by speculators.

The Constitution lays down the principle of state ownership of the natural resources of the country. Exploitation of these resources is reserved for Philippine citizens and corporations in which at least 60 per cent of the capital is owned by Philippine citizens. During the Commonwealth period Americans enjoy equal rights with Filipinos. Afterwards a more severe policy of restriction may be anticipated, unless some special economic agreement is concluded.

"Protest Party"

Social unrest is acute in some parts of the Islands, especially in the big rice *haciendas* of Central Luzon, where bitter disputes between tenants and landlords, both lay and Church, over rent increases and evictions are not uncommon. It was in this region that the Sakdalista uprising, suppressed with some loss of life and followed by wholesale prison sentences for the participants, occurred in the spring of 1935. The word Sakdal means protest and the Sakdal party, which finds its leaders among radical lawyers and publicists and its rank-and-file among the poorer peasants, capitalizes the popular discontent with abuses of landlordism, usury, and corruption in office. The Sakdalistas lack an outstanding leader and a clearcut program; but the authorities are constantly apprehensive of new outbreaks at their instigation.

President Quezon has taken the stand that social justice is the sole adequate remedy for this festering discontent. Several laws designed to remove the more obvious grievances have been enacted. For instance, the tenant's right of property in his home site has been established. Formerly the landlord could tear down and destroy the little thatched shack of the tenant who dis-

pleased him. A minimum wage of one peso a day has been decreed for all government employees and a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes is being introduced. The situation seems to call for more drastic reform measures, such as the purchase and resale to small holders of those large estates where labor troubles are most frequent and more energetic state support for emigration to the large undeveloped southern island of Mindanao.

Despite these social problems and despite the difficulties of racial adjustment with the primitive and warlike half million Mohammedan Moros who inhabit Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago to the south, there is every prospect that the Filipinos, if spared any especially severe shock, could govern themselves as successfully as the average Latin-American state.

Indeed the similarity, both in climate and in racial and social set-up between the Philippines and many countries of Central and South America is very striking. One finds the same Spanish and *mestizo*, or mixed blood, upper and middle class, while the Tagalogs, Viscayans, Ilicanos, and other Malay *taos* (peasants) in the Philippines are not unlike the Latin-American Indians.

The economic stability of the Islands depends largely on the terms of the final trade agreement with the United States. The political stability is closely bound up with the attitude which Japan will take toward an independent Philippines.

Japan's Shadow

The shadow of Japan looms large in the Philippines. Pedro Guevara, former Philippine Commissioner in Washington, is now out of politics and can therefore talk more bluntly than officials who must weigh their words in referring to a foreign power.

"My viewpoint about the desirability of complete independence for the Philippines underwent a definite change when Japan seized Manchuria," Mr. Guevara said to me. "Only a blind man can fail to see that Japan desires to dominate the Philippines, with their rich undeveloped resources and

their strategic location. First will come Japanese economic investment, then immigration, finally, political domination."

At the present time, Japanese policy in relation to the Philippines cannot be fairly described as aggressive. A good deal of alarm has been stirred up over the intensive cultivation of hemp plantations in the neighborhood of Davao, on the southern coast of Mindanao. About 14,000 of the approximately 20,000 Japanese in the Philippines live in this region and an area of about 150,000 acres is under Japanese cultivation. The Japanese have unmistakably shown more efficiency, more capacity for labor organization than the Filipinos; and this may be an augury for the future. The Philippine authorities, however, hope to check this economic penetration, by refusing to renew sub-leases of Japanese holders as they run out, by setting convicts to work on land adjacent to the Japanese holdings, and by encouraging immigration into Mindanao from the more crowded islands to the north.

In the Philippines, as in almost all oriental markets, Japanese textiles have made noteworthy progress, and the Chinese, the traditional shopkeeper of the Islands, finds himself hard pressed by the competition of Japanese retailers. Most of the fishing in Philippine waters is done by Japanese boats. The former Japanese consul in Manila, Mr. Atsushi Kimura, in the course of an address at the University of the Philippines, outlined a program of future Japanese peaceful penetration. He predicted a shrinkage of American trade as the time for independence approaches, suggested that Japan could supply much cheaper manufactured goods than those of other countries in exchange for raw materials, and advised the institution of a currency system independent of the American dollar.

Such Japanese pronouncements, however, are rare. In general the Japanese attitude is reserved and discreet. There have been no official protests in connection with the many cases when Japanese settlers have been killed by savages in the jungles

of Mindanao. Japanese immigration into the Philippines is rigidly controlled at home, with a view to averting any need for vexing immigration restrictions.

It is obvious that a new situation will arise when America dissociates itself from political responsibility in the Philippines. A poor, overwhelmingly agricultural state of fourteen million people, mostly of Malay stock, cannot enjoy the large degree of almost automatic security that fell to the lot of the colonial dependency of the richest and economically most powerful country in the world.

At the moment there is no concrete proof whatever that Japan cherishes any specific designs against the independence of the Philippines. But there is also no certainty as to the course of events after the American flag is lowered in the Islands. Disputes over the right of Japanese subjects to cultivate land, to invest in industrial and mining enterprises may conceivably become sharper. In the event of any disturbances endangering the lives and

property of Japanese, intervention, which might or might not be of a temporary character, cannot be ruled out as a possibility.

In the event that no preferential commercial agreement is concluded between America and the Philippines, the Islands will be almost pushed into the arms of Japan. In such a case the islanders would be obliged to adjust themselves to a much lower standard of living and might find their best recourse to a large-scale exchange of their mineral and tropical products for Japan's inexhaustible supply of cheap manufactures.

It is by no means unlikely that other countries besides Japan may take a more active interest in the Philippines if America renounces all responsibility for their future fate. Great Britain in Malaya, France in Indo-China, the Netherlands in the East Indies could scarcely remain indifferent to outright Japanese domination of the rich and strategically located Philippine archipelago.

"Road to Ruin"

THE Tydings-McDuffie Act is a blind-alley leading nowhere but to ruin. Even if the economic provisions were amended to make them less severe, the Act comprehends a period of only ten years, and after that, what? A special treaty relationship between the United States and an independent Philippines could provide for almost any desired set-up, and could be made practically permanent.

Independence, however, could probably not come as early as 1938 or 1939, for the present commercial treaties of the United States with foreign nations do not all expire or come up for renewal until 1941, and until then, therefore, it would not be possible to revise them in such a manner as to make it possible to extend preferential treatment to an independent Philippines, at least without the consent of the nations concerned. It is most significant, however, and encouraging, that the reciprocal trade agreements which the American State Department has recently negotiated with a number of foreign nations contain a clause to the effect that the terms of these agreements shall not preclude "advantages now or hereafter accorded to the Philippine Islands notwithstanding any change that may take place in the political status of the Philippine Islands."

Philippine Magazine

OLD EGYPT GROWS UP

*A strong nation, capable of self-support,
has come of age on the banks of the Nile*

By EMIL LUDWIG

THE question of Egyptian independence was being decided on the shores of the Lake of Geneva. Before we do anything else we must pay tribute first and foremost to the memory of Woodrow Wilson. Before the founding of the League of Nations such conferences only took place perhaps once in ten years; today as many as ten may be held within a year. It is quite possible that the world has become fed up with these numberless conferences, which have been to no avail in allaying our fears or in warding off the threat of another war. It must be admitted, however, that this new kind of diplomatic activity, because of the speed with which it works, seems able to adapt itself better and better to the exigencies of our times, and renders considerable service everytime that it takes it upon itself to settle so-called "internal" affairs. Just as the Turks did only a short while ago, the Egyptians bid good-bye to the same hotel in Montreux, taking along with them a document full of official signatures and stamps. Though it may not offer the final solution, the document will nevertheless contribute considerably towards clarifying Egypt's internal problems.

Egypt has been making increased efforts to shatter those humiliating bonds of capitulations, a chain of privileges for the Europeans who have so brazenly and unscrupulously made themselves masters of the Nile and have harshly treated this most ancient nation of history.

From 1930 up to 1933 I spent some time each winter in Egypt. One day—it was Christmas Eve and the gigantic Assuan Dam was decorated from one end to the other with beautiful green flags, the color of the New Egypt—I witnessed an endless

stream of automobiles proudly bedecked with the national banners. These cars were filled to capacity with dark-skinned men who wore big white shirts that seemed to wave in the breeze. They were singing and shouting, for their party had won an important electoral victory and they had been told that their subjugation was about to come to an end. A little later, not far away, I was able to see Nahas Pasha, chairman of the present Geneva Conference, in his hotel. Pasha is the most ardent follower and the best disciple of the great Zaghloul, who, true prophet that he was, died without seeing his dreams realized.

At that time the Wafdist victory meant a triumph for England and a blow to the various Anglophile elements. The history of the Wafdists resembles that of all national revolutionary parties—a student revolt, the assassination of the Governor of the English Sudan, rigorous measures imposed by Great Britain, the arrest of the leader, his exile, his return, and parleys and negotiations once more. . . .

On the occasion of the interview that took place in London between Zaghloul and Ramsay MacDonald, British Prime Minister at the time, MacDonald, I was later told by the interpreter, asked:

"Just where do you want our troops confined to?"

And Zaghloul promptly replied:

"To England! . . ."

A Bourgeois King

The late King Fuad's task was not an easy one. His ultra-republican subjects were unable to forgive him for having mounted to power only because of the English. Even Fuad, for this same reason, felt



unable to do those things he thought best. Though simple and unassuming, he was a great statesman and a real bourgeois king. I had the opportunity to see him three or four times during the last years of his reign and to express my gratitude to him for the truly regal favor he had bestowed upon me: he had placed at my disposal one of the ships in his fleet in order to facilitate the work of documentation for my book on the Nile.

We conversed in Italian, the language which he had known from early childhood and in which he had been educated. It is, perhaps, thanks to this that he took me into his confidence. On one occasion, he discoursed for more than two hours on the art of reigning, a discussion that it is still too early to reproduce at full length.

"I am acquainted with all classes," he said to me, "princes and coachmen, soldiers and generals. I have been taught to recognize the thirst for money and the strength of human passions. The fatal de-

cadence that evidenced itself in the Hapsburgs was for the most part due to an education neglected in certain aspects, the consequences of which I was able to see at first hand during the years I spent in Vienna. As for myself, not having been born to reign, I had to rely on my own native powers."

Dressed in the long, gray lounge-jacket that the Egyptians seem to prefer, wearing a fez, and seated at his desk in his immense, but dull and cold, palace, he gave one the impression of a man who can look reality straight in the face. His disregard for those formalities which are ordinarily so dear to Oriental monarchs would have caused one to take him almost for a plain landowner. He would often express himself most vehemently when talking of dictatorships; I don't know whether this was because of his inner convictions or simply to hide his dictatorial aspirations. Thus, one day he said to me:

"Anyone can come into my house. So long as he stays there, seated face to face with me, I shall have no cause to doubt his loyalty. And when he leaves, he is free to think what he wishes. At any rate, I have found men from the common people, more than fifty of them, who never even dreamt of becoming ministers and yet who because of my wishes obtained these positions."

"And how many really capable ones among them did you find?" I asked him.

"I have forgotten the figures," he replied with a sly smile. "But I'm positive that the most upright man is not always the most prudent statesman. When faced with the unexpected, the upright man will lose his head, his sense of balance will go to the winds, and he will abandon his job in the very midst of the conflict."

The Royal Signature

Fuad realized that he had a great many enemies in his country, but Egyptian independence (which was not proclaimed until July, 1936) was at that time only a distant dream. In order that I might become better acquainted with the state of mind of the government officials, I resorted to a

little artifice. The King had given me a small map of the Nile on which, at my request, he had affixed his signature. Each time that an engineer or any official came aboard my ship I would unfold the map and, taking extreme pains to display the royal signature, I would say with a feigned indifference:

"This map was given to me by your King as a gift."

On hearing this some of them would immediately bow most respectfully; they were the faithful supporters of Fuad. Others, on the other hand, would merely limit themselves to saying:

"Oh, yes . . ."

From this I would conclude that the latter were of the opposition, that popular movement against England which had grown tremendously during the ten years of battles and propaganda launched by the Nationalist party. The movement was stronger than at the time of Lord Cromer. Possibly it was just as powerful as it had been at the time of Arabi Pasha, the Nationalist hero and leader of the second revolt of the "fellahs" or laborers—the first revolt had taken place in 2300 B.C.! Furthermore, one had only to watch the wrinkled face of any old "fellah" shrink with hatred whenever he passed the large barracks of the English, right near the Nile. And one could also see the way in which the rich merchants scornfully and bitterly turned their backs on the English officers in the more exclusive Cairo bars. For it must not be forgotten that until the last few years admittance to the English clubs was denied these rich Egyptians, though the latter at the same time were being received at the royal courts of Europe. It may be added that their marriage with European women never failed to provoke unanimous indignation on the part of the English.

If all this now belongs to the past, we have the Nationalists to thank for it. Yet who knows just what turn events may take? Today, Egypt possesses neither a fighting army nor navy, and as a result the national

budget shows assets, not a deficit—a most rare phenomenon for our times. It is well-known, of course, that the reason for the liabilities in the European budgets is above all due to the mad race for armaments. In Egypt we see the reverse of this picture. King Fuad actually assured me one day that when he wore civilian clothes his reasoning was always much different from what it was when he wore a uniform. He never told me which of the two he preferred, but I think I know.

History shows that the Egyptians are in the right when they demand independence for their country. The conference at Montreux has liberated them from that shameful slavery which certain Europeans have exploited. The latter have amassed huge fortunes while committing numberless crimes for which they have gone unpunished. It is a fatal prejudice of our day and age that makes us consider people of certain races as being all endowed with all the good qualities and those of other races as being only fit to step on. It is this prejudice which is greatly responsible for the delusions of grandeur which took possession of the Europeans on Egyptian soil. Europeans too often have a tendency to forget that Egyptians are not negroes; perhaps they have never learned that the Egyptian civilization was the mother of theirs.

When the white man's privileges in Egypt have been taken away from him there will finally be restored to this country the dignity it deserves—a dignity stolen from it by the six foreign nations who colonized it. Those things that the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Turks, and the English created in this country cannot make up for the wealth that was usurped from it. The English, of course, did more in fifty years than the Turks did in five hundred; but times are changing, and those people, who only yesterday still had something to learn, today constitute a young and strong nation, capable of getting along henceforth without any foreign guardianship.

AMERICA'S MARITIME PROGRAM

Before members of the Propeller Club of the United States, Joseph P. Kennedy, chairman of the new Maritime Commission, outlined an immediate program to "build ships—the best and most modern ships—and build them right away."

Mr. Kennedy said:

"So far as the commissioners are concerned, the nation may count upon their unanimous determination to administer this act with all the skill and fairness at their command. We must meet many difficult problems of understanding and judgment. We must have more than technical skill. We must be statesmen who can both harmonize the individual interests of the various groups affected by this statute and subordinate such interests to the national welfare. We are the agents of no class. We are the servants of the whole American people.

"The determination of a proper subsidy is certain to be a difficult task dependent on many variables. In the beginning our approach may not be as scientific as we would like.

"But of this you may be sure. We shall not forget the terms of the statute that we do not serve as guarantors of profit. We have not been appointed to subsidize laziness, inefficiency and poor management. No greater blight can come upon the shipping industry, or, for that matter, upon any operating enterprise, than the belief that its success or failure is determined by the profit it can make out of the government.

"The ship operator is, of course, the key to the success of the whole program. So far as he is concerned, if the commission determines that he operates in an essential trade route and that he is financially able to carry out his venture, he need no longer fear the threat of unfair competition in costs. Under this law it will then become a contest of his intelligence, skill, industry and thrift against similar qualities in his competitor. There is a deeply ingrained tradition of the American businessman on land or on sea to ask for nothing but 'a fair field and no favor.' The American shipping industry may take heart that any present disadvantage, arising out of its position in an internationally competitive business, will be eliminated, and that in the application of the law, political or other improper considerations are to have no standing whatsoever.

"So far as the shipbuilder is concerned, we must frankly recognize that the statute represents an effort to subsidize his industry. This has not been done because the administration has a particular affection for the ship construction companies of this country. Not at all. It was done because a realistic Congress recognized that in the scheme of national defense, as well as for the proper as-

urance of replacements of our merchant marine, the preservation of the shipbuilding industry must be maintained. And shipyards to be really maintained must be used as well as equipped. They must not rust while they wait—they must be going concerns.

"Of course we will pay more for ships so constructed. But we will be paying for more than just the ships themselves. This construction differential subsidy is for the builder, not the operator. And even for the builder the only advantage will be his increased business. In that American labor and material men will participate.

"There need be no profiteering. The government is permitted by the statute to enter the ship construction industry, if necessary, to stop profiteering.

"But regardless of the powers the government has to prevent unfair practices, I feel that the leaders of the industry are going voluntarily to show themselves to be broad-gauged enough to recognize that the future of their business depends on the success or failure of our present efforts. If a sound and constructive administration results from the cooperation of all groups, the shipbuilding industry can be assured of an orderly program of replacements to create a steady demand for its services.

"The act requires the commission to establish minimum manning scales, minimum wage scales and reasonable working conditions for all officers and crews employed on all types of vessels receiving an operating differential subsidy. The act further provides that any increase in operation costs by reason of a rise in wages or a change in working conditions shall be added to the ship operator's differential subsidy. That means that the government now determines the standards of a self-respecting life at sea—and the taxpaying public pays the additional cost.

"Any oppression of American seamen that may have been chargeable to the unfair attitude of ship operators in the past is hereafter to be outlawed by force of the statute. And because the commission does realize the importance of manpower on shipboard and that it cannot be had in this day and age of competition ashore without a square deal, shipping labor can rest assured that for economic as well as humane reasons the commission will see to it that they get a square deal."

EMPIRE OF THE AIR

*In the final analysis, the control of radio
is in the hands of 130,000,000 Americans*

By W. CARROLL MUNRO

RADIO belongs to the people. Held in trust for them by the Federal Government, it is operated by private companies for private gain only under condition that it serve primarily the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." Beyond that, radio belongs to the listener. For the peculiar nature of radio broadcast and reception endows each individual with unusual power. With one hand on the dial the listener dictates his will, and if his taste is in the majority, indirectly influences the will of the broadcasters whose only concern is to please him within limits of decency and common sense.

To some, gagging a crooner with a twist of the dial is as nothing compared to strangling a noisy Philharmonic. Others glue their ears to the pumping rhythm of the "Baron's Swing Band," or suck up the last episode of "I Am a Cradle Robber." The intelligentsia, scorning this patent degeneracy, consoles itself with the string ensembles or the piping of some professor lamenting the decay of civilization. Radio runs the gamut from insane entertainment to profound philosophical sermons; in short, every man to his own noise.

Progressively the conception of radio broadcast and communication spreads out infinitely from the 50,000 amateur operators to the puzzled scientists in television studios, and finally to the listening masses who, least of all, need vindicate their radio preference—for they own the air and all things thereof. Not the navy, not the army, not the money interests, nor a political party, but the people, through the agency of their Government, control radio. And many have called it the peoples' last great resource.

Actually, radio broadcasting is composed

of scarcely more than ten per cent of radio activity. Yet it is the focal point of all radio, dramatic in the sense that it is participated in by the masses, and of limitless value in that it has outstripped all other agencies in its influence on people individually or collectively. Dozens of other specific functions ranging from maritime radio protecting the lives of thousands of steamship passengers and millions of tons of freight, to police radio protecting the lives of many millions more are of supreme importance. Yet one or all of them must yield in the public mind to radio broadcasting for entertainment and education.

As a phenomenon, broadcasting is a child of the post-war years. If in 1906, Reginald A. Fessenden, of the De Forest Company, broadcast a Christmas Eve program of music and speech it wasn't until 1927 that the Federal Government irrevocably brought the lusty industrial adolescent to heel. Prior to that radio was a wild confusion. The first stations for organized broadcasting were established in 1921. Programs consisted of phonograph records and miscellaneous talks and were tolerated only because of their novelty. In 1922 broadcasting stations sprouted like mushrooms and numbered 382 by the end of the year. Operated by newspapers, electrical companies, department stores, educational institutions, and municipal governments they set up a horrible clamor and confusion. In each succeeding year new stations came on the air until they taxed the limited number of wave lengths available. And this latter fact must not be forgotten. Because of mechanical limitations there has not been and is not now enough radio space for all those who have the desire or the money to broadcast.



RADIO AND THE PEOPLE: *Broadcasting is dramatic in the sense that it is participated in by the masses, and is of limitless value in that it has outstripped all other agencies in its influence on people, individually or collectively.*

Broadcasting is a unique industry in that revenues do not come directly from the users of the service. Advertisers pay the freight in return for an opportunity to exploit themselves or their products. And for those who still think that advertising is an unnatural growth, it is pointed out that the virtues of radio as an advertising medium are such that its continued support is assured. Broadcasting is not a public, philanthropic, nor propaganda enterprise. It is today, as it has always been, a business for profit. And the commercial hucksters need not apologize. By virtue of their money, American broadcasting has risen to a position not only unchallenged, but unapproached by other nations.

A glance at the combined money revenues of the National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System networks demonstrates most graphically the phenomenal rise of network advertising—from \$3,760,010 in 1927, to \$10,252,497 in 1928, to \$18,729,571, in 1929, to \$26,815,746 in 1930, to \$35,791,199 in 1931, to \$39,106,776 in 1932. In 1933, there was a decline to \$31,516,298, but revenues rose

to \$42,659,461 in 1934, and to \$48,786,735 in 1935. Drugs and toilet goods lead the list of radio advertising expenditures with foods and food beverages following a close second. However, a cursory survey of advertising products would lead a stranger to believe that Americans were: (1) chronically constipated; (2) troubled with decaying teeth; (3) suffering from unbearably noxious body odors; (4) concerned with pustulate complexions; (5) on the verge of buying an automobile; (6) anxious to oil up an engine; (7) interested in the fragrant aroma of rare tobaccos; and (8) in the market for a character-building whiskey.

Newspapers and Radio

With such phenomenal growth in national prominence and, more annoying than that, in advertising revenues, commercial radio broadcasting directly has antagonized a large portion of the American press, although many newspapers owned and operated broadcasting stations from the very beginning. At the base of the rivalry is the fact that advertising reve-

nues and news control have always been considered by newspaper publishers as an inviolable province of their very own. Thus, at the instance of news gathering associations innumerable suits have been brought against broadcasting stations seeking damages for infringement of copyright. However, the newspaper publishers have been unable to present a united front since many of them possessed powerful radio interests embracing many important key stations. Despite this legal shackle, radio has plunged ahead with the result that it has practically extinguished the newspaper "extra." And under severe provocation the radio operators have even gone so far as to threaten to set up their own newsgathering organizations and thus enter into direct competition with the basic prop of newspaperdom. And the publishers have recognized the threat for the potent one it is, for in radio engineering today there are new and unique types of men geared to overcome the physically impossible, and possessed of a scientific vision of which the horizon has not yet been delineated. To sterilize radio competition, at least in part, the American Newspaper Publishers Association has initiated cooperation with the broadcasters resulting in the limitation of commentators to news already published and the formation of the Press Radio Bureau for authorized periodic broadcasts of spot news.

Broadcasting, however, is something more than a general communication service; it is at the same time a means of entertainment and education. Because of its unique economic foundation, complex administrative problems have been created. The station owners must not only satisfy the listening public but also the advertiser who pays the freight. And it must never be forgotten that these station owners use channels that belong to the public for purposes of private gain. Nothing can justify this situation but that the primary interest of all broadcasting be one of public service. That this is almost an unattainable goal is evident when one considers that in the majority of instances the interests of the listen-

ing public and the advertisers are antagonistic. There are many groups who definitely believe that such a liaison of public interest and private gain can never be successfully affected or maintained. Answering these critics, the commercial sponsors indicate that the past record should be given weighty consideration, inasmuch as their money has been directly responsible for radio's phenomenal growth and popularity. And at this point the third party in radio enters the picture—the Government.

Federal Intervention

By 1926 conditions had taken a bad turn. As one example, a Chicago station (WJAZ), owned by the Zenith Radio Corporation, which had received an assignment of two hours every Thursday evening on the same channel as a station in Denver, arbitrarily jumped to a Canadian exclusive channel and operated full time without authority. Immediately the Federal Government prosecuted the owner of the station under Section 1 of the Act of 1912, which forbade the operation of a station without a license issued by the Secretary of Commerce. Right here the first gun in the battle to divorce the Government from its radio property was fired inadvertently by the Court when a decision was handed down in favor of the company. When the Secretary referred the case to the Department of Justice, Acting Attorney General Donovan rendered an opinion to the effect that the Secretary of Commerce had no power to determine or restrict frequencies, power or hours of operation of a radio station; or even to limit the term of its license. Thus the situation was clarified. Regulation by the Federal Government was not only needed but mandatory if the public interest in radio was to be maintained.

The Radio Act of 1927 was passed by Congress on February 23 and became the statutory basis for the regulation of radio within the United States. The provisions of the law were so drastic and sweeping that American industry rubbed its eyes in amazement. Yet nothing short of this sever-

ity could have saved radio from plunging into chaos. In essence the law provided for the regulation of all forms of interstate and foreign radio communications and transmissions within the United States. The administration of the law was placed in the hands of a commission to be known as the Federal Radio Commission and composed of five members appointed by the President.

One of the most important features of the Act of 1927 was the limitation of license validity to three years for broadcasting stations and five years for any other classes of stations, a provision whose specific object was to provide more effective control over radio communication. It was thought that the power to grant licenses for a limited period would enable the regulating authority to eliminate undesirable broadcasters and at the same time keep a powerful weapon in their hands with which to insure the integrity of public service in radio. On this premise licenses were issued for a three-month period in 1928 for broadcasting stations with a one-year period for other stations. At present broadcasting licenses are issued for six months for broadcasting, with other licenses limited to one year. There are many objections, of course, to the limited license. The two principal ones being the power to censor through revocation of license or invalidation of license and the introduction of an element of uncertainty into radio communication by placing the security of the station owner's investment in the hands of a politically appointed Commission.

In practice the Commission was faced with two formidable problems: (1) the allocation of facilities to eliminate interference and to equitably distribute them throughout the United States; (2) the protection of public interest and convenience by applying rigorous standards to the qualifications of all applicants for facilities.

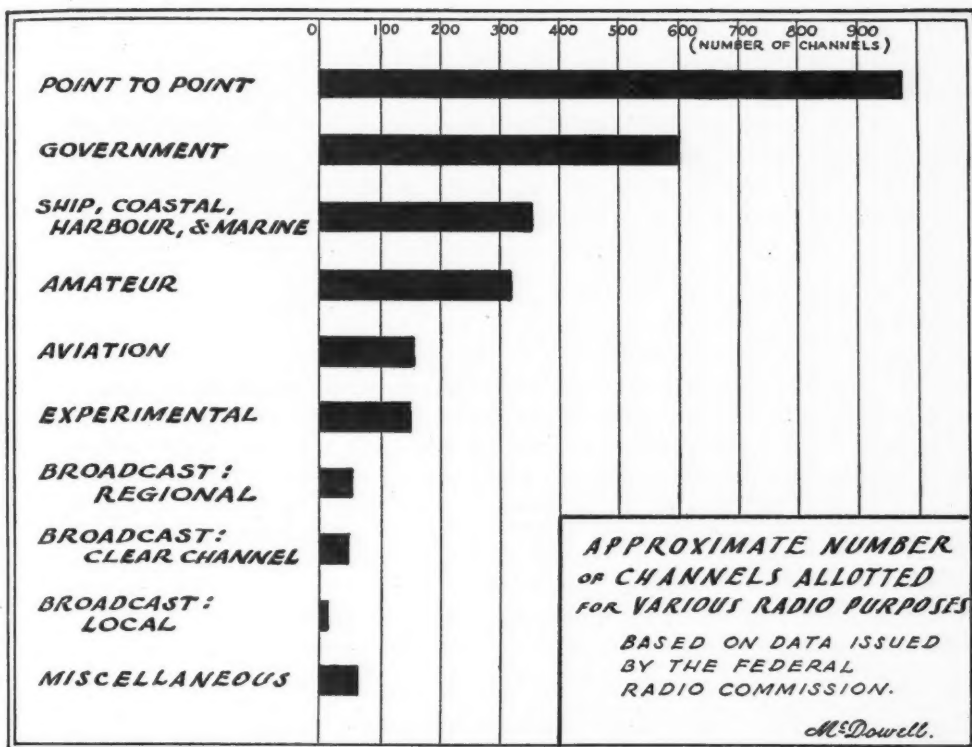
However, attaining this equitable distribution in the public interest was not so simple. Facing a system already in operation, the Commission had to abandon, in

many cases, good engineering practice for economic considerations. As was anticipated, a rigid application of the Radio Act and its corollary, the Davis amendment, caused economic hardship, dissatisfaction and costly litigation. And it led to a more liberal construction of the Amendment in application.

Butt of the FCC

This was the situation in 1933 when President Roosevelt, shortly after taking office, directed the Secretary of Commerce to organize an inter-departmental Committee to make a study of the entire communication structure situation and to make adequate recommendations. As an example of the flaws in the administrative pattern the Federal Radio Commission situation was typical. Although it had the authority to license and to regulate operations, it had no jurisdiction over the rates and charges of radio-communication companies engaged in interstate and foreign communication. Out of the hearings and the voluminous documentary evidence was born the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which in scope is the most powerful regulatory body ever created by the Federal Government. Whereas the Interstate Commerce Commission is restricted to interstate carriers, the 1934 Communications Act extended to all telecommunications.

As a unit empowered to deal with all telecommunication the Commission necessarily found that radio broadcasting supervision and regulation was, if still one of their most important interests, a subsidiary aspect of their broader function. On the whole the work they and the former Radio Commission have performed provides a sound basis of radio law and administration, without at the same time resolving controversial issues in telecommunications, many of which are at present haunting the Broadcast Division. Among these were the questions of how and to what extent broadcast facilities should be made available to non-commercial and especially educational broadcasts; regulation of the quantity and quality of advertising matter on programs;



and the censorship of programs. Actually these are problems concerned with and parts of the greater issue of public interest, convenience, and control of radio broadcasting.

Attempted solution of these problems has quite naturally been accompanied by a great deal of criticism justified and unjustified. Without at once pointing out the inadequacy of knowledge and understanding that many of the critics have brought to their job, nor condemning those interested parties who have deliberately set out to attack the Communications Commission in the hope of weakening its powers, it is necessary to examine the numerous complaints. Chiefly the charge is made that valuable channels of radio communication have been turned over to private corporations with the purpose of assisting them to commercial gain. These channels, it is claimed, would otherwise have been used for educational work, political instruction, and popular sociological instruction.

To support their argument the proponents of education in radio invoke the power of the Communications Commission to further the social welfare of the nation by radio. And behind this sentiment has been organized a movement for the allocation of segregated channels for the specific work of these non-profit organizations.

Radio in Education

In 1932 the criticism of existing status of radio facilities became so widespread that the United States Senate adopted a resolution requiring the Commission to make a survey of commercial advertising and to report on some fifteen specific questions. One of the most important of these questions was answered by a report on just what recognition the Commission had given to educational institutions and whether or not they had been discriminated against in the interest of furthering commercial radio interests. The report as a whole was displeasing to many educational leaders pri-

marily interested in the cultural possibilities of broadcasting. From 1927 to 1932 the report showed that the Commission had granted radio-station licenses to 95 educational institutions, 51 classified as public and 44 as private. Of these stations 44 were in operation at the time of the report, 23 stations had voluntarily assigned their licenses to a person or corporation engaged in commercial enterprise, 18 had been voluntarily abandoned, and 10 had been liquidated for adequate cause. In only two cases had the Commission granted licenses to commercial stations for facilities applied for by educational interests. Concerning the amount of time commercial stations had given local educational institutions it was reported that 95 per cent of the stations had found educational institutions unwilling or unable to exploit all the time the commercial stations were willing to supply. On the basis of this report the Commission recommended that educational programs could be safely left to the voluntary gift of facilities by commercial companies.

The recommendation invoked a protest from the educational leaders who denounced the report as inadequate. Actually the report definitely established three facts long suspected: (1) that non-profit organizations, whether interested in popular education or culture, were financially unable to exploit the grant of important radio facilities; (2) that the caliber of programs whether for lack of material, amateurish talent or esoteric appeal discouraged rather than encouraged wide listening audiences; (3) that such non-profit organizations were so numerous as to present an almost unsolvable problem of selectivity in the granting of radio facilities.

Obviously, however, there is a need for broader facilities open to educational and cultural groups. But, it is claimed, nothing can be served at this time by allocating fixed proportions of broadcasting facilities to non-profit groups. Radio is too young, too full of potentialities, to freeze it at this time in any pattern that might prove injurious to future developments.

As the report demonstrated, many non-

profit organizations had voluntarily abandoned their facilities either because of financial difficulties or inadequate programs. And at present it would be a gross waste of broadcasting facilities to allocate important channels to non-profit groups unless they were sufficiently endowed to exploit them. And these considerations do not touch the obvious fact that merely because a non-profit organization purports to disseminate culture and education it does not follow that such enterprise is in the public interest. Not even the educators can agree on what constitutes education in radio. But there is one situation, however, that unquestionably involves the non-profit broadcasters unjustly; and that is the high cost of defending their facilities against commercial applicants. Radio, like other businesses, is infested with legal ticks who make a plump livelihood by complicating normal situations. A certain element of radio lawyers are forever trying to compromise station's wave-lengths. To correct this situation the Commission has recommended that Congress provide for informal preliminary hearings on applicants who appear upon investigation to be hostile to established stations. Protected by such a provision licensees of existing stations would not be put in the future to the expense of defending their holding at hearings.

Limiting Commercial Announcements

The second charge leveled at the Commission and the one most popular with the masses is that advertising bilge is not decently restrained or deleted altogether from the commercially sponsored programs. This criticism is based on the most factual evidence running from advertisements objectionable to human sensibilities and injurious to health, to the advertisements of fakers offering to cure everything from heart burns to love pains. Greed of individuals and corporations has played the most important part in tarring the reputation of many station owners honestly concerned with effective efforts to control the quantity and quality of advertising

"plugs." A recent survey disclosed that more than 70 per cent of the operating stations strictly limit commercial announcement to a minor percentage of the total contracted time. For example, on full-hour night programs station owners limit commercial announcements to from 5 to 15 per cent of the total time.

Censorship, long a bugbear to speech whether free or libelous, is one of the most controversial issues in radio. Of course, if the people who turn the dial could be depended upon to exercise their prerogative then no such problem of censorship would exist. However, this is not the case. Primary responsibility for what is in the best public interest in broadcasting rests with the owners and operators of stations. Secondary responsibility rests with the Federal Communications Commission. But this secondary control is one which must be avoided. It would be entirely foreign to American conceptions. During the Presidential campaign of 1936 much loose talk was heard concerning the censorship exercised over the broadcasting service. Fortunately members of all political parties protested and thus cancelled out each other. However, there is one inconsistency in the present situation in need of correction, for although station owners may not censor the speeches of qualified candidates for public office, they are at the same time liable, in conjunction with the speaker, for libel and slander appearing in them.

But this, as any critic will admit, is not the whole story of radio and censorship. Innumerable instances are on record where stations on their own responsibility or at the behest of commercial advertisers have raped free speech and accuracy early and often. Copy submitted for approval has been deleted or distorted; speakers have been allocated inadequate time allowances when the content of their talk offended money interests; critics of the social order have been strangled in red tape; and most disheartening of all, stations have permitted irrational and irresponsible news commentators on sponsored programs to step to the microphone night after night

and spew the air with innuendo, falsehood, and just plain misinformation. Invariably these public scolds have directed their attacks against governmental personages and governmental organizations utterly without defense not because of a lack of power but because of too much power.

Criticism of the Commission

Social critics have no basis for complaint, since it is foolish to expect the present rulers to engineer their own downfall by giving reformers and revolutionaries an opportunity to probe the septic sores of our society. If they must broadcast let them apply to the Commission and undergo examination for a license. Technically, station owners and operators are compelled by law to sell time to any one person or organization, provided that certain standards of decency and common sense are met. As a practical proposition it is surprising that this condition has prevailed to such a marked degree. But the public may be assured, at least at present, that in the licensing power of the Commission it possesses the weapon to force compliance to their changing tastes. A station owner who must apply for a new license every six months will not risk offending the public taste.

Since one of the favorite sports indoors and out is to charge graft, corruption, and monopoly without, of course, submitting proof, several charges against the Federal Communications Commission's handling of radio can be briefly considered. First the Commission is charged with fostering a monopoly. In 1931 the Federal Radio Commission reported that of a total of 434.19 broadcast units the stations used by the National Broadcasting Company represented 42.6 per cent, and those used by the Columbia Broadcasting System 26.3 per cent, or together 68.9 per cent of all facilities assigned to broadcasting stations. Of the 40 highly prized clear channels in the United States, only two were not used by these chains. This condition merely demonstrates that if people must have the best talent, which invariably is concen-

trated in large cities, then network broadcasting is the only feasible operation. Engineers with their love of perfection and efficiency, and annoyed at the political cavil flying through the air, stubbornly maintain logical reasons for integrated communications whether telephone, telegraph or radio. And the engineers are the ones who must combat the immutable laws of power which are less flexible than the laws governing the political intelligence.

A further charge leveled at the Commission is that the power to grant short term licenses has converted it into a brokerage house deliberately corrupt and up to its elbows in an active plot against the good American people. Certainly only a fool would deny that favoritism is extinct in the Commission, that there are not many radio operators who come and qualify for licenses as a means to speculative investment. Unwittingly, perhaps, those liberals who have directly attacked the short term licensing power of the Commission are playing into the hands of those station owners who desire nothing more than a more permanent hold on the allocated frequencies. And it is these interested parties who are carrying on an under cover attack on the Commission employing the abundant ammunition supplied by the political heads of the broadcast division, Chairman Eugene O. Sykes, Anning S. Prall, and Norman S. Case. As a case in point, the liberals denounce the fact that radio broadcast, representing a paltry \$40,000,000 investment, returned in 1936 a gross revenue of \$107,550,000. This they charge is an exorbitant return on capital; and no one will deny it. And yet what corrective is warranted? To attempt indiscriminate rate fixing at this time—a step which must one day be taken—is virtually impossible. No one, least of all the liberals, has been able to dogmatically ascribe a fair return to capital investment. Such a course leads into the maze of valuations of property, priority, maintenance, etc. Today radio is too young and tender for such a proper drubbing. The liberals must be

vigilant, yes, but they must also have reasonable patience.

A Goal for Radio

As a whole, radio broadcast has not yet reached the stage in development where any specific dogma as to its use can be promulgated. Although it is a communication service of great potentialities it is also a medium of entertainment, recreation, and public education for 24,500,000 radio-set owners in the United States. As yet the logical goal as to the best use of broadcast facilities has not been delineated. Of course, there are many unsatisfactory conditions in need of correction. The broad language of radio censorship must be tightened and clarified.

At present there is a case before the Commission involving the C. I. O. and the Colonial network. In this instance the contemplated introductory announcement to a speech by John L. Lewis—later canceled and broadcast over independent stations—was written by the station owner and was alleged to have contained objectionable phraseology, inaccurate in part and prejudicial to the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. The announcement read: "The next hour has been engaged by the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. The opinions to be expressed during the period are those of the speaker and his organization. They do not reflect the opinion of this network, the management of which is definitely opposed to certain principles of the C. I. O., notably the sit-down strike."

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee characterized this statement as a violation of free speech and fair play, and a deliberate distortion of the principles of the C. I. O., which did not sponsor the sit-down strike. What disposal of this case will be made by the Commission is not yet known, though common sense indicates that future action must be taken to sterilize the opinions of radio station owners who, it must be remembered, are enjoying the privilege of making money out of an agency held solely in trust for the people.

STALIN'S PURGE: A WAR MEASURE

*The Red Army is the latest victim
of Russia's panicky house-cleaning*

By EUGENE LYONS

TWENTY years after the revolution, and despite oceans of ink spilled to explain it, Russia is still an enigma to foreign observers. For a brief period the outside world thought it had discerned a consistent pattern in Soviet life—at any rate, different groups traced neat patterns for themselves and defended them as a true and final picture of the Soviet land. Then a series of melodramatic episodes exploded these certainties.

On the heels of "the world's most democratic constitution" has come an orgy of authoritarian violence that is gathering force as it proceeds. Fantastic demonstration trials, mass executions without trials, mysterious suicides of whilom leaders, a calculated nationwide spy scare, the disgrace of key figures in the Secret Service, the Red Army, the trade unions, and the ranks of orthodox literature—these and dozens of other strange events have left the world staring again in bewilderment.

A handful of know-nothing communist diehards and professional press agents for the Kremlin still hold tight to the crumbling vision of a "socialist" fatherland. A few embittered reactionaries at the extreme Right continue to attack Russia in the same old style under the misapprehension that they are still fighting a "communist" country. But the rest are frankly confused. Radical revolutionaries are wondering in so many words whether history has maneuvered them into defending the liquidation of the Russian revolution by the Kremlin. Liberals, increasingly skeptical about Stalin's curious brand of democracy and appalled by recent blood-letting, are poised for retreat from Moscow—witness the activities of a John Dewey, the writing of André

Gide, the squirming of men like Waldo Frank and Malcolm Cowley, the shifting emphasis of journals like *The Manchester Guardian*, *The Nation* and *The New Republic*.

The only thing certain is that vast changes, perhaps cataclysmic, are taking place under the policed surface of Soviet life. The expunging of the earlier type of Bolshevism became manifest with the abolition of the Society of Old Bolsheviks three years ago; it reached a climax in the physical extermination of the remnants of the early Bolshevik leadership. One need only leaf through that amazing compendium of misinformation about Russia, the two-volume opus by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: a New Civilization?*, to realize how rapid has been the process of change. Though finished only in October, 1935, that work is now tragically obsolete—even the official pretenses and prevarications which it repeats have been abandoned; the whole governmental structure based on soviets has been discarded in favor of the Hitler-Mussolini type of one-party "democracy"; scarcely a trace is left of the concept of Communist Party membership as a semi-religious vocation to which the Webbs devoted hundreds of lyrical pages; the whole baggage of "advanced" ideas in family relations, art, social equality has been cast into the limbo of "counter-revolution."

The contrast between the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Trotsky and the Soviet Russia of Stalin is no less startling than the contrast between the France of Marat and the France of Napoleon. Attitudes toward Russia fixed by the early works and professions of the Bolshevik régime and maintained

doggedly through mental inertia and a sense of loyalty will inevitably be revised in the next few years. A complete reversal of rôles—with everything congenitally reactionary lined up on the side of the Stalin-esque Russia and everything progressive and humanitarian lined up against it—seems to the writer altogether possible. Already radicals throughout the world are finding it harder to differentiate between the totalitarianism of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin, though they seek desperately to save a little of their emotional investment of hope and fervor in Russia.

A war with Hitler in one camp and Stalin in the other would rally what remains of faith in the Russian revolution in the outside world, if only on the theory of choosing the lesser evil. The last World War gave us the ironical and almost obscene spectacle of Czarist absolutism aligned with France and England and later the United States in defense of democracy. The coming World War may duplicate that obscenity by aligning the new absolutism in Russia, the Stalin dictatorship, with the democratic nations. In the World War that irony was ended with the overthrow of the Czarist régime; democratic sentiment instantly flowed to the support of the Russian revolution. Should history repeat itself in the new war now in the making and the new absolutism also be overthrown by the Russian people, democratic and progressive sentiment may logically be expected once more to applaud the event.

The Fear of Insurrection

It is primarily the fear of insurrection at home in case of war which, in the writer's view, accounts for much in the Kremlin's immediate behavior that is otherwise unaccountable. The new Russian rulers are realists—indeed, they carry their realism to absurdly unrealistic lengths. They are hard-boiled, contemptuous of ideals and principles and humanistic "prejudices." They are the same people who liquidated five million so-called *kulaks* and punished the alleged insubordination of the forcibly collectivized farm regions with a famine

that even a partisan of Stalin like Maurice Hindus now admits cost "at least three million lives." It may be assumed that they are keenly and uncomfortably aware that both Russian wars in the Twentieth Century ended in mass uprisings, in 1905 and 1917—and determined that the third war shall not end likewise.

Wherefore the bloody erasure of all real or imagined sources of insurrection; the killing off of every dissenting communist who might conceivably provide a focal point for accumulated discontent; the reorganization of the Army, the trade unions, the Secret Service with a view to more effective control by the centralized state power.

The panicky slaughter of Old Bolsheviks, the jitters over spies and saboteurs, the arrests of Red Army leaders, are merely symptoms of the Soviet government's dread fear of the Russian masses. Meek as those masses may be, they have turned on their masters before and may turn again. War, diverting the energies of absolutism to meet foreign dangers, has in the past given those masses the courage to act. Moscow has always insisted that a foreign war can be turned into a civil war, and it is realistic enough to recognize that this applies to Russia no less than to other countries where discontent is rife.

The alarum about Trotskyism is therefore a convenient smokescreen behind which the work of exterminating actual or potential opposition proceeds with increasing vigor and thoroughness. Indeed, the existence of the Communist Party itself, though it has been reduced to an inert rubberstamp for the dictatorial machine, disquiets Stalin and his lieutenants. The Party still has a prestige with the populace and an atavistic social idealism which in a moment of stress might conceivably be turned against its leaders. Fantastic as the idea may sound, the liquidation of the Communist Party as a further guarantee against revolution is not out of the question; the liquidation of the revered Old Bolsheviks, as an organization and then as individuals, sounded equally fantastic before it hap-



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MAY DAY: 1937: "It calls for no special perspicacity to recognize that all is not smooth in the Red Army." This recent demonstration of Soviet military might was set against a background of flags which carried the slogan, in various translations, "Workers of the world, unite."

pened. The abolition of the Party may well come under the slogans of "democracy" and the "classless society"—the continued existence of a Party representing one class in a society where there are presumably no classes, of a dictatorial party under a democratic constitution, is an anachronism anyhow.

The most significant acts of the Kremlin in its self-defensive house-cleaning are in relation to its armed defense forces: the Red Army and the G.P.U. (the latter officially known now as the Commissariat for Internal Affairs). Because of the extreme secrecy with which everything pertaining to the Red Army is surrounded, it is particularly difficult to estimate the extent and importance of the changes here. But it calls for no special perspicacity to recognize that all is not smooth in the Red Army.

The world is so inured to sensations out of Russia that it has paid scant attention to

the most sensational item of all. The Kremlin has decreed that two civilian overseers shall be placed by the side of every commander of a Red Army military district, forming a series of "military councils." Every order of the military leader must be confirmed by at least one of these civilians to become effective. The meaning of this move becomes apparent in the light of Soviet history:

In the first years of its life the Bolshevik régime was obliged to depend upon old-line Czarist generals and officers to command its newly formed Red Army. To guarantee the loyalty of these recruits from the enemy ranks, it placed a trusted civilian by the side of every military officer. These "political commissars," members of the Party, must countersign all orders and had authority to override the military heads. A system of dual command—technical and political, with the balance of power on the polit-

ical side—was thus developed, unique in the history of warfare. It was a makeshift of desperation: symbol almost of the fears and distrusts at the heart of the new government as it fought for survival on a score of scattered fronts with a raw, ill-equipped and disorganized army.

Now, in the twentieth year of the revolution, this makeshift has been revived! In effect the Soviet Government has thereby announced to its own people, its soldiers and the world at large that it does not trust the loyalty of its ranking Red Army commanders. It has been obliged to take measures to watch these military leaders, nearly all of whom are members of the Communist Party, just as it did in relation to Czarist generals enlisted in its service. Obviously it would not have taken this step except under the pressure of genuine fear.

The revival of political commissars in the Red Army is the more remarkable because the Kremlin has boasted so loudly about the loyalty of its armed forces, especially of the commanders. Nearly 90 per cent of the higher officers according to the latest figures, are enrolled in the Party. It is a cliché of communist propaganda that the Russian army is imbued with a special zeal absent in capitalist armies. A propagandist book published only recently, *The Soviets* by Albert Rhys Williams, devotes pages to this point, contrasting the proletarian patriotism of the Red soldier and officer with the sullen discontent of their Czarist predecessors and soldiers outside of Russia.

Common sense, of course, contradicts such panegyrics. An army of 1,500,000 conscripts in any country must of necessity reflect the feelings of the masses from which it is drawn. It would have been a miracle if the deep currents of popular unrest and scattered manifestations of organized opposition—things implicit in the frenzied blood purges now under way—had failed to penetrate the Red Army. It is still overwhelmingly a peasant army and even its workers are for the most part ex-peasants. When we recall that there is scarcely a peasant family in all of the U.S.S.R. which

has not been hit by famine and liquidation in these seven or eight years, it becomes clear that the Army cannot remain immune to discontent and smoldering resentments. The enlargement of the Red Army in the last year, in fact, has served to dilute its loyalties and make it more representative of the sentiment of the Russian people as a whole.

Military Titles Restored

It was only recently that the Soviet Government restored old military ranks and titles in its army—everything but the hated title of General. It even gave itself a batch of "field-m Marshals." Already one of these marshals, Vice-Commissar of Defense I. B. Gamarnik, has committed suicide under charges of complicity in anti-Stalin intrigues. Another, Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, likewise a Vice-Commissar of Defense, has been condemned to death as a traitor; until a few months ago he was slated to be commander-in-chief on the whole Western front in the event of war. Sentenced to die together with Marshal Tukhachevsky were such outstanding military men as Jonah E. Yakir, the young Jewish general who was considered something of a prodigy; Robert P. Eideman, for many years the head of the civilian defense organization Osoaviakhim, with some six million members enrolled; the head of the Red Army War College (equivalent to our West Point), A. I. Kork; K. V. Putna, formerly the Soviet military attache in London; and generals Uborevich, Feldman and Primakov. These men were at the right hand of War Commissar Klementi Voroshilov, who in turn still stands at the right hand of Stalin. Disloyalty in such high places strikes too close to the heart of the whole Stalin dictatorship to be accepted lightly. Taken together with the revival of the "political commissars" system of supervising all important Red Army leaders, it bespeaks a most unhealthy condition.

There is no dearth of superb military material to replace the recalcitrants. Marshal Tukhachevsky has been replaced by Marshal Alexander Yegorov, a man of

peasant origin who rose to the rank of Colonel in the Czar's army during the war and then went over to the revolution. War Lord Voroshilov himself is regarded as a talented strategist and is extremely popular in the ranks. Marshal Simeon Budenny, the great cavalry leader, is a national hero of almost legendary magnitude and a man to inspire armies. Marshal Vasily Bluecher has given a good account of himself both in China, where (under the *nom de guerre* of General Galen) he guided the Kuomintang forces under Chang Kai-shek to victory, and as commander of the Soviet Far Eastern armies. Younger men by the score—in no way involved in the revolution and devoted only to the dictatorship which made their careers possible—have risen to leadership.

But the problem is much wider than individuals. The suicides and executions and measures to guard the political morals of high military men are symptomatic of a disturbed army morale. The gangrene that is eating into the flesh of the armed forces, now as under the Czars, is simply political tyranny. Having sowed the wind in its millionfold liquidations and man-made famines and other demonstrations of its tragically short-sighted "Bolshevik firmness," the Stalin régime must now protect itself against the gathering whirlwind.

The removal of Henry Yagoda as chief of the dictatorship's engine of terror, the G.P.U., is not an isolated phenomenon either. It is an intrinsic part of the larger purge in the trade unions, the Army, the Party ranks. Probably no man in this generation deserves retribution as richly as this Yagoda, as monstrous a creature as any Inquisition has produced. But he, too, was an Old Bolshevik, and he was surrounded by men whose activities, like his own, dated back to the earliest days of the revolution. They were "Chekists." The word "Chekist" conveys very little to the foreign mind, but for the Russians it is crowded with meaning and overtones.

The Cheka, predecessor of the G.P.U.,

was the revolution's unsheathed sword, the instrument of the Red Terror. For all its history of horror, the Chekist tradition is a heroic one. In perverted form it is the tradition of the revolution at its most intransigent and self-sacrificing and, curious as the word seems in this connotation, idealistic. It was born and nurtured at a moment when the communist idea was not a cynical formula but a fervid faith, at a moment when revolution on a world-wide scale was not a Trotskyist heresy but an axiom of Bolshevik thinking. The continuity of that Chekist tradition, after twenty years, is truly remarkable. The writer met many men in Moscow who still live in the atmosphere of blood and iron and fanatic brutality of their Chekist past.

For the Chekist who survived into the Stalin era loyalty to the revolution as such, loyalty to the Bolshevik ideals of the Torquemada of the revolution, Felix Dzerzhinsky, might easily outweigh devotion to Stalin and the new bureaucracy in a period of strain. The elimination of Yagoda and Prokofiev and hundreds if not thousands of other Chekists—their substitution by younger men without personal memory or psychological allegiances to the Bolshevik revolution, men whose careers stem directly from Stalin—is parallel with the purge that is eliminating the last of the active leaders of the Bolshevik seizure of power. It brings the engine of terror more completely under the control of the new post-revolutionary leadership with Stalin at its head.

Thus in every department of its life, the Soviet dictatorship is removing the leftovers of the original revolution and fortifying itself on the new ground. If war comes, it will confront the foreign foe as a "monolithic" state, in which every surface symptom of opposition has been removed. Whether genuine national unity can be achieved by terror, and how long the unity would last in a protracted and costly war or in the face of military reverses, history will tell.

MEN DO NOT LIKE WAR

*It's difficult enough to recruit them
and harder still to make them killers*

By MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

SOME people insist that war is inevitable because "men like war." They contend that at bottom man is not only a venturesome and combative animal but a potential killer. In normal times, according to the reasoning of the psychologists and philosophers who subscribe to this view, man's killer instinct is held in check by various social forces, by the weight of morality and law; but let the "moral lid" be ripped off and his innate desire to murder will rise automatically to the surface. Since this is an inherent and ineradicable trait in the human soul, the theory runs, man will always fight and kill, given the chance, and therefore we shall always have war.

If tested by the established principles of psychology, this facile explanation for the "inevitability" of war might be found seriously wanting. Its weaknesses would become still more apparent if it were put to the test in the light of the hard facts of human experience. But war itself offers, of course, the severest and at the same time the fairest test of this theory. What has happened when organized society has given full sanction to murder? What has happened when men have been not only permitted but compelled to go out and kill in the name of their governments? In time of war, with all moral restraints swept aside, do men rush to volunteer for military service in order to give vent to their supposedly inborn lust for blood? Not for a moment. Governments everywhere and in all ages have found it difficult enough to obtain enough soldiers even for the purpose of defending the "national honor" or the country's territory. One has only to read the military "experts," Clausewitz, Upton and

others, to learn with what complete disdain the professional soldier holds the fighting qualities of the average man. According to these professional killers, it takes a good deal more than war, a good deal more than the mere brushing aside of moral restraints, to make a willing murderer out of the average man. To attain that end man must be trained in the art over an extended period, as in any other profession or trade.

But before he is trained he must first be caught. And the catching of men for service on the battlefield has for centuries been a nightmare of military commanders. A Bryan might believe that "a million men will spring to arms overnight" if the country is endangered, but the generals will tell you that the volunteer system is wholly unreliable and that only by compulsory military service can enough "potential murderers" be rounded up to give the country the army the generals believe it ought to have in time of war. These military men have faith in conscription alone. Nor need one turn to the old Roman levies, or to the draft system of Napoleon, or to the use of conscription in modern Europe, or to the fact that England even today, though another European war seems imminent, cannot find enough volunteers for its army, or to any non-American source for evidence of man's reluctance to offer himself voluntarily for service in war. One has only to consider American history.

Revolutionary Experience

It might have been supposed that in the American Revolution, when the colonies were attempting to overthrow a military tyrant and to secure democratic self-rule for themselves, every last man among the

patriotic colonists would have been ready to lay down his life for this holy cause. Yet Washington and his fellow rebel leaders had the devil's own time in keeping enough troops on hand to meet the Hessian mercenaries. Men had to be cajoled and shamed into serving with the Continental Army or with the various militia units. They had to be bribed, to be paid increasingly generous bounties as the war dragged on. At the end of 1779, to quote Ganoe, "although Congress had offered \$200 to a recruit to enlist for the period of the war, and one of the States had reached \$750, a suit of clothes once a year, and 100 acres of land, Washington's force scarcely totaled 26,000 effectives."

Washington himself declared at the beginning of the rebellion that there existed an "egregious want of public spirit." "Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country," he said, "which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time." At another time he complained of the "great numbers of soldiers and non-commissioned officers who absent themselves from duty." One of his general officers, Schuyler, repeatedly told of the "ill humor" among the volunteers and of his own "unstable authority over troops of different colonies." "Nothing," he said, "can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England colonies to get to their firesides."

Bounties were increased, the bribes offered prospective soldiers were enlarged, and still not enough volunteers were to be had. Desertions, too, had meanwhile become alarmingly numerous. Washington was constrained to report that "many soldiers, lately enlisted in the Continental Army, not content with the generous bounties and encouragements granted to them by Congress, but influenced by a base regard to their own interests, have reenlisted with, and received bounties from, other officers and then deserted." Commenting on this situation years later, General Upton declared: "While the patriotism of a people, taken collectively, is quite equal to



From the etching "Brothers," by Fritz Eichenberg

keeping up a prolonged struggle for liberty, cost what it may, we find that the patriotism of the individual utterly fails to induce him to undergo, voluntarily, the hardships and dangers of war."

This aspect of the Revolution was repeated in the War of 1812. Again bounties had to be paid in generous measure. Each recruit was offered in 1813, over and above his normal bounty, a cash payment of \$24, three months' pay in advance and 160 acres of land, while officers were paid \$4 a head for each recruit they procured. And again the volunteers balked at the military hardships and risks.

A striking example of the war-like spirit of the average man turned up in the following year when the city of Washington, the nation's capital, was threatened by a British force. The threat was perceived as early as July 4. Orders were sent out on that day to "hold in readiness for immediate service a corps of 93,500 men." General Winder, who was in command of the Tenth Military District, which embraced Washington, had no illusions as to the number of men who would respond. He suggested to the Secretary of War that it would be "advisable to call for the largest number directed by the

President" on the supposition that thereby "we might possibly get the lowest" number of men needed for the defense of the capital. It seems that as many as 15,000 militia and volunteers were counted upon to join in the defense. But on August 23, the day before Bladensburg, the army that had been mustered for this purpose consisted of only 1,400 regulars (400 horse, 400 infantry, and 600 marines) and 1,800 militia. On the day of the battle a brigade of 2,200 untrained militia was rushed over from Baltimore to take part in the futile fighting.

In the Mexican War the militia forces gave a slightly better account of themselves. But of volunteers for service with the regular army in Mexico there were very few indeed. The enlisted strength of the army had been increased by law from 7,580 to 17,020. But after six months of fighting its actual strength had been brought by enlistment to only 10,690 officers and men. The Secretary of War felt that "as long as volunteers are expected to be called for it will be difficult to fill the ranks of the regular regiments unless additional inducements are offered or the terms of service modified. A small pecuniary bounty given at the time of enlistment, or land at the end of the term of service, would, it is believed, have a most beneficial effect." So bounties were again forthcoming. Still there was no great rush to enlist, and further inducements were held out.

Lincoln's Volunteers

Lincoln's call to defend the Union in 1861 brought out a surprising number of volunteers—the only time that that has occurred in the country's history. It was not that every able-bodied citizen hastened to respond to the appeal of Father Abraham. Indeed, only one in eight of the eligible male citizens yielded to that patriotic urge which the "inevitabilists" call the brute or combative instinct. Nevertheless, even this proportion of volunteers was so high and so unexpected that the military men were agreeably astounded. Upton, for instance, mentioned "the amazing fact" that "*without compulsion* 1,356,593 citizens had already

assumed the character of soldiers." (Actually the total was somewhat smaller, for this figure included a number of reenlistments.)

Yet these volunteers as well had to be lured on to the field of battle. Some were given an extra month's pay and a bounty of \$25 to boot. Others drew down a straight cash payment of \$50. Still others were granted \$100 each for enlisting for a period of three years. This was not enough. Deaths and desertions continued to deplete the Union ranks. In July, 1863, Lincoln called for another 100,000 militia, but only 16,631 responded. About this time it was decided that only compulsory service—conscription—would overcome the scruples that American manhood had with regard to killing and dying on the battlefield. The first draft brought out only 35,782 men, "of whom at least 26,000 were substitutes." Men who could afford to do so bought their way out of military service rather than take advantage of this rare opportunity to give free rein to the killer instinct within them, while other men hired themselves out as conscripts, not for the love of fighting, nor yet for the sake of patriotism (they still had every chance to enlist of their own volition had they so desired), but wholly for monetary gain.

As such things go, the War with Spain was hardly more than a diversion, an outing for the kind of men in whom the brute instinct still survives as a fairly positive force. Relatively few killers were needed for this war (though in some respects it turned out to be one of the bloodiest conflicts in modern history). This being so, the American Government had comparatively little difficulty in obtaining the men it required to send against the much overrated "Spanish butcher." Even so, Congress decided that it would be wise to offer something in the way of a special inducement. It raised the war pay of the soldier by 20 per cent in order to attract volunteers.

Recruiting for the "Holiest War"

In the great crusade for democracy, which was probably the "holiest" war man-

kind has seen since the religious wars of the Middle Ages, the theory that men will instinctively fight at the drop of the "moral lid" was put to a supreme test. Never in American history had so many righteous and resoundingly moral reasons been adduced for unbridled mass slaughter. In his War Message the President declared that the Prussian challenge was a challenge "to all mankind." He said that "the wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life." He denounced the "criminal intrigues" of the German Government and called upon the American people to undertake "armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck." "It is a fearful thing," he said, "to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance." (Emphasis as in original.)

The "experts" under George Creel embroidered this theme in the most lurid and blood-curdling fashion. They published "scientific" evidence designed to show beyond all dispute that the Huns were the most abominable of beasts, the most vicious of fiends, that they had concocted the war for the sole purpose of spreading their damnable militarism and hellish autocracy over the entire world. By the "Prussian gospel," the American people were told, "not merely is war inevitably 'hell,' but it is to be made deliberately the lowest stratum of hell, and the means of rendering it such are to be worked out with scientific precision." And once "Prussianized Germany" had triumphed in Europe it would find occasion "to strike down America in its isolation." Thus, the manhood of America was called upon to do battle, not only for American democracy and liberty, not only for all of those values which the American people supposedly hold so precious, but also for the concept of universal freedom and democracy, for civilization itself. Never had any such stirring appeal been addressed to the martial spirit with

which every man is presumed to be endowed. Never had any such tremendous effort been made to arouse the fighting animal within man.

And what happened? Patriotism burst forth everywhere. "Spies" were rounded up. German ships were interned. University authorities cancelled their athletic schedules for the duration of the war. "In New York," to quote Millis, "the great mansions of the captains of industry and finance in upper Fifth Avenue were observed to be patriotically displaying the Stars and Stripes." Elsewhere crowds collected "before National Guard armories as if vaguely expecting something." There were other and similar signs of a nation astir. But there was no maddening rush of patriots to the recruiting stations. Within a few months a few hundred thousand volunteers—out of more than twenty million eligible males—did present themselves for war service, and of these at least forty thousand offered themselves as candidates for commissions rather than for service in the front-line trenches.

The generals saw at once that volunteers could not be depended upon to fight this war. They promptly set to work on plans for conscription—or "selective service," if you please—and had these plans ready and even in operation before Congress enacted the draft law on May 18. The military men, wise with their decades of experience, knew better than to take any chances on the validity of the theory that man needs only to have certain moral restraints removed in order to make him an eager and spontaneous killer.

In the next war there will be no voluntary enlistments at all. Service with the military forces will be wholly compulsory. The General Staff has ready for automatic introduction and enactment by Congress, on the day that the war begins, a bill setting up an air-tight and iron-bound "selective service" system from which no man, moral or immoral, civilized or savage, can hope to escape.

It would seem, then, that American men, far from really enjoying war, have had

from the earliest days of the republic to be wheedled, cajoled, propagandized, shamed, bribed, and finally driven into fighting. Even when service has been compulsory they have contrived various means of evading the patriotic duty of fighting and killing. (At least 400,000 Americans successfully dodged the draft in 1917-8.) Moreover, as military men universally recognize, the mere process of getting a man into uniform and putting a rifle and bayonet into his hands does not make a killer out of him. That is but the beginning.

I still vividly remember the sergeant at Quantico who at bayonet drill kept repeating over and over: "You gotta learn to hate 'em. Stick 'em in the guts, the dirty Heinies. They'll stick you. They'll rip your bellies open. They hate your guts. Kill 'em. Stick 'em in the guts, the dirty Heinies. You gotta learn to hate 'em." A month or two later, when our company got to France, a lieutenant by the name of Murphy, a hard-faced individual with protruding jaw and slanting forehead, appeared one day in the role of lecturer. It was immediately apparent that his real task was to work us up into an emotional rage against the Germans. He began rather suavely, even gently, by intimating that we might do well to practice on one another. He advised us to "be hard-boiled, get tough." He would say: "If anybody tells you it's a fine day, you tell 'em, 'sure, it's a fine day for a murder.'" From these mild suggestions he worked toward his climax by declaring: "Remember, you fellows, you've got to kill men. That's what you're here for, to kill men. This ain't no picnic. We're tough. We're killers. What in hell did you enlist for?"

At the time this education in brutality seemed silly to me. I had the curious notion that the drill sergeant and the lieutenant were more or less on their own, that they were merely parading their sadism before us as an emotional escape for themselves. Later, in comparing notes with members of other companies, I found that they were being similarly educated. And upon my return to civil life I discovered, in perusing the writings and studies of various

military authorities, that this sort of "education" was considered an indispensable part of the soldier's training.

Arlington B. Conway, one of these students who served on the staff of a Canadian brigade in the European war, quoted Kipling as having said: "You must employ either blackguards or gentlemen, or best of all, blackguards commanded by gentlemen, to do butcher's work with efficiency and despatch." Conway added:

The demonstrations of Colonel R. B. Campbell, Director of Bayonet Fighting for the British Army, were very instructive. He would take a platoon of sheepish-looking, poorly-developed youths, and, by the exercise of his extraordinary persuasion, rapidly strip away the coverings of civilization from them, and turn them into fighting animals, eyes glaring, teeth bared, trembling, hating. He did not yell, or rant. He talked rapidly, evenly, in a low, confidential, compelling tone. "That's where the liver is, if he runs away. . . . Two inches of steel, no more. . . . And mind you get the right place. . . . He's a dirty, greasy German waiter. . . . You've often seen him scraping the dishes. . . . He's raped your sister. . . . Don't give him a chance. . . . In the throat . . . right there . . . two inches . . . A-a-a-h-h. . . ." At the word the boys charged down on the row of stuffed sacks, stabbing madly but not blindly. As they lunged together the yell went up. . . . "A-a-a-h-h . . ." a snarling, bestial sound that struck at the jelly of the spine.

Later Conway wrote that "if troops can be stimulated to rage, it is no longer necessary to worry about their anxiety to close with the enemy." But, he said, "the difficulty is to work them up to the requisite heat." For a time the British army added propaganda to its bayonet drill as a means of developing ferocity. "Little questionnaires were given to the men in the trenches, which inquired, 'Do I take every opportunity to harass the enemy? . . . How many Huns have I killed today? . . . Am I as offensive as I might be? . . .'" etc. But the men for the most part only laughed at

it, and at the brass hats who originated the scheme."

In other words, the military men know only too well that man is not a natural killer. They are fully aware that a vast majority of men have to be "educated" in murder just as men in civil life have to be educated as plumbers or doctors or army officers. They have not only to be taught discipline in order that they might respond in unison to orders and move with machine-like precision on the field of slaughter, but to instil fear and hatred, a mad lust for blood, in them. This is, after all, one of the main purposes of military training. In discussing the first battle of Bull Run, Upton attributed the Union rout to lax discipline and training. A majority of the men retreated en masse at the first indication of death. "The Union loss in killed and wounded," Upton said, "was 1,492, or but 5 per cent of the total force engaged. The same regiments after a year's discipline would have scorned to retire with a loss of less than 30 to 50 per cent." So it is "discipline," i.e., military training, and not any inherent human trait that makes man an accomplished and intentional murderer.

Indeed, the chief criticism that military men have always made of the military policy of the United States is that it does not provide for enough thoroughly trained soldiers who can be called upon in time of war. From Washington's time to the present the generals have ceaselessly argued that civilians cannot fight when pressed into service, that it is quite impossible to turn

a raw recruit into a competent and spontaneous killer overnight.

One thing more need be said about the theory here under discussion. This hypothesis rests primarily upon the equally untenable supposition that it is man in general who makes war, that the choice between peace and war lies with the people at large and not with a relatively few individuals. If this were true and the theory of the "inevitabilists" were valid, then the frequency of war could be rather simply explained. But it is not true. The people have no voice in the matter. The decision, in the United States as in other modern imperialist countries, lies wholly and invariably with the handful of men who control the political and economic destinies of the nation. It might be said that they at least are moved by a lust for power and glory that is akin to the uninhibited warrior's supposed lust for gore and glory. That may be true in some cases, but here again we would have men who are the exceptions that prove the rule. Moreover, it is neither lust nor ambition but far more often impersonal economic and political forces, or sometimes just plain stupidity and bungling, that plunge nations into war.

But, however wars may originate, they do not rise from any popular craving for death, from any psychopathic defect in humankind. Wars are certainly not fought because "men like war," for the available factual evidence points in overwhelming measure to the conclusion that men do not like war.



ILLEGITIMACY IN GERMANY

*The Nazi "children-body-kitchen" slogan
speeds the production of cannon-fodder*

By WALTER BROCKMAN

NAZI Germany in its repopulation aspect presents the picture of a vast incubator. It is kept at the required temperature by a hot-air apparatus designed by the Ministry of the Interior and operated by the Department of Eugenics with a staff of engineers whose duty it is to see that the supply never runs out and the air never cools. What emerges from this modern breeding machine is the Nordichero and the future bearer of the Nordic hero. Before we go into the methods by which this super-human being is being achieved, let us record the fact that, to begin with, the incubator is turning out probably the biggest and bumpingest crop of illegitimate babies ever produced.

We leave it to the reader to draw such conclusions as his individual social views dictate from the picture of the Third Reich today, with its repeated assurances that it has made the Western World safe for the institutions of civilized society, and the methods by which its population is being increased. We have yet to learn, for instance, that that "immoral" communism, from which we have all been saved through the heroic bulwark thrown up by Hitler's Germany against its inroads, has anything to show so inconsistent with any social program at all as the evangel of "children at any price." And it is very hard for any but the Nazi mind to reconcile the conception of "Hearth and Home," so sanctimoniously glorified by Hitler and other revivalists, with the present state of affairs in this regard. It may be doubted whether the lax morals which these reformers tell us were one of the most reprehensible of all the evils of democracy they exterminated, had anything to put beside such conditions as

the following paragraphs give but a faint impression.

Though for obvious reasons, statistics on this subject are not yet made available, we yet may risk a bow of recognition to the truly staggering efficiency with which the baby advocates have carried out their job; and though, perhaps, the rest of the world might look upon the deluge of new citizens a little askance, one must admit that these people at least have done the thing up brown.

Meanwhile, much innocent fun is to be got out of the ever-growing literature, in which the illegitimate child and the unwed mother are being "hallowed and protected." So far as the Government is outwardly concerned in the express upbuilding of this innovation in the social order, we find ourselves on familiar Nazi ground; that is to say, no official voice has said anything as positive or as courageous, for instance, as that there shall be no more distinction between legitimate and illegitimate Germans, or that every woman providing one more hero for the Fatherland has done as honorable and complete a job as any other, so that the circumstance of being wed or unwed has nothing to do with it. But the word was given out, and the departments are morally and no doubt financially supported, as well as the newspapers and periodicals approved, through which this propaganda "educates" the people.

The source of all these things, however, the Fuehrer and his ministers, refuse both their names and outward declaration of policy in order that when the pinch comes, they will be able to issue words to the effect that "every evil in a country cannot be out-rooted in a single day," and "we must be

given time to eradicate all the social abuses which our predecessors left us heir to."

The "Inalienable Right"

That this pinch shows signs of coming is already faintly indicated; but it has not yet become acute. The situation goes on merrily until the usual pressure from abroad, or from very powerful quarters at home, will bring about those loud repudiations and changes of front which we have seen so many times already. And when those responsible do come out with these declarations, you may be sure that it will have been forgotten that as early as a few months after the Nazis had come to power, articles began to appear in the chief women's magazines circulating among the housewives of the lower middle classes, shop girls, maid servants and such throughout the country, launching a regular crusade for babies in and out of wedlock. Not expressed as honestly or as crudely as this, but more in the following manner, culled from a series of articles in the most widely read women's paper in Germany. This series had the more weight for proceeding from the pen of a woman doctor who addressed herself to her readers with all the passionate devotion to the cause of woman and the fundamental rights of every woman:

"It is the sacred duty and the inalienable right of every woman to have children. . . . The insistence upon this right and action in accordance with it, is the highest social duty of the woman citizen of our country . . . you are all responsible for breaking down the propaganda carried on against your rights by the misgovernment which your Fuehrer has saved you from. . . . Only women under Marxist influence would stop like cowards to think who will look after the children they put into the world. . . . Did the Teutonic woman ever think of things like these? No. She went ahead and did her duty to herself by giving heroes to her race. . . . The German woman of today shall do the same. . . . We have had enough of cowardice and so-called conscientiousness, which was only a cloak for slacking."

This is but one example of countless utterances in the same strain. If things show

signs of having got a little out of control, it is now too late for protest.

In all the Reich there is no group more cagey than the doctors. You have to be cunning to lure them into answering even the most innocent questions; but the more intrepid of them can be got to risk an occasional answer as to facts, though never an opinion. At least we learn that the maternity wards in all the country's public hospitals are overcrowded. A high percentage of the patients are 15 years old or thereabouts, already launched on that career of motherhood which, as Adolf Hitler taught the leaders and the teachers who taught them, is the only justification for female existence upon earth.

In Berlin some time ago, a conference on the truly alarming spread of child-motherhood was held; nothing was done about it then, and meanwhile it has grown much worse.

Shocks to Parents

The most prolific hot-beds for this fungous crop are those two Nazi innovations, the *Landjahr* (year's compulsory work on farms) and the *Arbeitsdienst* (labor service). Under the Hitler régime all the working and potential working girls of Germany between their school-leaving age and the age of 25, in order to continue or become eligible for employment, must prove one year's work on a farm.

The ostensible reason for this is the same one as demands from the future professors of higher mathematics—a complementary education in the cardinal Nazi tenet of "Brotherhood," which is implanted by living on that earth which they are "one with," and working at the "eternal, dignifying labors of the earth, side by side with their brethren of the soil."

You have to be on to the new German language to get the real meaning of all these words, and the *Landjahr* and *Arbeitsdienst* workers are learning it rapidly by practical experience. And so are their parents:

"Dear Mother: I am expecting a baby. So are three other girls here."



European

LABOR SERVICE: German girls dine under a "Joy through Work" slogan at one of the labor camps which have produced such unexpected results.

This was the unembroidered tidings sent home on an open postcard by a 15-year-old girl at a woman's labor camp. The writer saw it with his own eyes. Mothers not yet sufficiently aware that they are living in a brand new Germany are apt to heap old-fashioned reproaches upon such an authoress. It is taking a little while for the elders wholly to grasp the new creed as formulated in the child-mother's question, "Why, don't you know Der Fuehrer says that Germany needs children?"

Of course, within a few years these mothers of today will have become the still youthful grandmothers of tomorrow, not subject to the jars and shocks that their parents still are suffering. In the meantime, we can well imagine the despair of one still medieval woman who voluntarily sent off all three young daughters to the *Landjahr* in the touching belief that she was doing her patriotic bit—only to have all three come back expectant mothers.

These conditions have been going on now, however, for long enough to awaken certain doubts and opposition in some people's minds. The horror and indignation with which many parents saw how all the lovely ideas worked out, has led to widespread protests. One community in Mecklenburg managed to put a stop to housing youthful members of both sexes not only in the same camp but under the same roof in a building with sleeping quarters opening on a common corridor.

A few of the fathers and mothers have won in their absolute determination not to let their daughters go away either to farm or to labor camps, though not many. This is no less true in the case of some of the prospective victims of the population-mongers. In a certain insurance company the girls, faced with the alternative of doing their *Landjahr* or losing their jobs, voted unanimously for the latter. This is no light decision in Germany today, where going

home and staying home means poverty. And even if, as unemployed, they are still eligible after this refusal to receive the dole, they will find in the first place the maximum dole is infinitesimal, and in the second place, more and more classes of people are being excluded from it.

One working-class father, whose daughter returned with the familiar story that she had been attacked by her farmer employer with the usual result, wrote a fiery letter both to the Propaganda Ministry and to that department of the Ministry of Interior which is pushing the population campaign. He is still waiting for an answer.

The victims of male violence down on the farm need look for neither sympathy nor help from public welfare departments, which are alleged to have in hand the "protection and care of women," among other things. One girl, applying at such a place for advice because she was unable to bring herself to tell her story at home, was given the following consoling reply: "Violated! Don't come to us with that. Or do you expect us to believe it? Seduced, that's what you were, like all the rest of them. And why not?"

The education in the ideals of reproduction, together with the state protection accorded to all fathers, implicit in this teaching, has brought about the result which might have been expected. As a result, the responsible guardians of the people's weal are pulling in their horns and retiring into their several shells according to their now time-honored habits. And since the Nazi Government does not yet see its way to infant extermination on a large scale, something else must now be done to stop this deliberate and self-inflicted deluge. In other branches of human activity this would be slightly more easy to achieve than in the sex-branch.

The administrators of Germany are becoming past-masters in the art of the Nazi rhumba. This dance, as we have indicated before, consists of one step forward, two bounds back, *volte face*, and finally, if called for, that curious prostration known as playing dead. This interesting, if singu-

lar, choreographic creation is Germany's successor to the goose-step. The Hitler ballet may be seen performing Figure 2 in the following semi-official warning and declaration lately issued by the Race Politics Department of the government: "Whoever proclaims marriage and the family to be reactionary and elements of the liberalistic epoch, is guilty either of misunderstanding or of conscious treason against the most sacred institution of our people. . . . With the overwhelming majority of illegitimate children at the present moment, there can be no 'improving a vitiated race.'"

Opposition

The immediate cause of this indignant outburst was an article published in the official organ of one of the country's leading industries, which circulates among hundreds of thousands of workers engaged in this key trade. It was entitled *A Frank Word in Support of the Unmarried Mother*, and said the things that one can easily imagine would be said in this connection. It concluded with a sentence that "illegitimate children as a rule, because they are love children, are racially far superior to those who come into the world as a result of delirium of senses, of mere habit, or of moral defectiveness."

Perhaps even more attractive than this idea, which sounds extremely like Herr Rosenberg, is one contained in another gem, to wit: "We are overturning outworn prejudices and have set ourselves to clear the way for the healthy Aryan human being. The marriage vows should not be allowed to be an obstacle to the fulfilling of the natural urge . . ." But this natural urge, however intriguing, is apt to put a heavy burden on the national cash-box, and the indulgent shepherds of a lusty flock are already finding that a halt must be called somewhere.

It is no secret that the Catholic church, at all times and in all countries, has had a vital interest in encouraging large families. It has even on occasion, notably in the United States, where there is so much

mixed marriage, made grave concessions in order to secure the children for its fold. This is a right and honorable policy, and has been consistently pursued from the beginning. Perhaps nothing, therefore, could show more strikingly what proportions promiscuous child-bearing has reached in Hitler's Reich since its inauguration, than the following protest of Cardinal Bertram of Breslau, the Archbishop of the East German Diocese. From an article in a Nazi paper which circulates among the country population of Silesia, he cites the following "principle": "To the farmer, marriage means heirs and nothing else. He therefore looks upon it as obvious to have intimate intercourse with his prospective wife before the civil and church marriage. If it transpires that this intercourse leads to nothing, then according to the farmer's way of thinking, the thing is useless—indeed harmful, and it would be even immoral to let it come to marriage at all."

The Cardinal points out that at the present moment there is every evidence that this "principle" is being put into increasing effect. He turns with wrath against this further debasing of the country's moral standard, which was low enough to begin with. It is obvious throughout all his words that the Cardinal realizes, though unable to say so outright, that if any curb is to be put upon the switch-back rapidity with which the German "Hearth and Home" is being degraded into a stable, it can no longer be

hoped for from any secular source. He realizes that the last chance for a wholesome moral outlook among the simple folk of Germany must come from the priesthood. And in the Third Reich, where the grimmest war is being waged to dispossess the priesthood of all creeds of all its influence, the chance looks very slight indeed.

Thus *Kinder* remains the most important K of the *Kinder-Koerper-Kueche* (children-body-kitchen) slogan devised by the Nazis for their women folk, a slightly modified version of the Kaiser's, which, as will be recalled, employed *Kirche* (church) instead of *Koerper*.

The rustic image it contains is the one prescribed for the employees of the organization for the propagating of More Children-Mindedness throughout the German population. This is conducted to a large extent by means of house-to-house canvassing. The canvassers are women, most of them district nurses in the service of the Public Welfare Department. They are taught in the rehearsal of their sales-talks to "enter a house with the ideal before your mind of a model pig-sty where a prize sow has just produced a blue-ribbon litter."

Among the women of the West, the German woman has always been regarded as the symbol of subordination; after goings on like the above, it is hardly necessary to comment on the depth of her present level—all because Der Fuehrer must have his cannon-fodder.

With the Spanish Anarchists

*Some revealing and colorful anecdotes
of an important side of Spanish life*

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

WHEN first I knew him he was an employee in a printing and dyeing establishment which formed part of the extensive Catalan textile industry. Being an ardent Anarcho-Syndicalist and somewhat of an intellectual, he put in his spare time addressing public meetings, writing pamphlets and articles for the proletarian press, studying in a library. Having mastered French, he was sometimes called to Paris to address an audience there.

But now Alfonso de Miguel was a "war delegate" in an Anarchist army. If the army had recognized such titles as majors, colonels, and generals, he would no doubt be one of the generals. He was one of the mainstays of the general staff at Valencia, particularly charged with responsibility for the campaign for the capture of Teruel, some 96 miles to the north, where a commanderless army known as the Columna de Hierro—the Iron Column—was entrenched in the mountains that close crescent-like about the city. De Miguel now had at his disposal a luxurious and spacious Pierce-Arrow, said to be the finest in Valencia—and also a chauffeur.

"Come with me to Teruel," de Miguel invited one day. And thus it was that I was able to penetrate into a little known and almost forbidden war zone. For several days I lived among Anarchists and their militiamen, partook of their hospitality, heard their talk, and informed myself of how Anarchists felt and thought in these stressful moments. I also took note of what had been transpiring in this Anarchist zone during several months of civil war. This message will attempt a faithful account of some of the facts of this venture.

Before setting out on the journey it may

be well to give a brief note about the Spanish type of anarchy. Anarcho-Syndicalism it is most suitably called because of its tie-up with the labor syndicates. The Anarchist organization proper is the F.A.I. (*Federación Anarquística Ibérica*). It is sponsor for the system of labor syndicates known as the C.N.T. (*Confederación Nacional de Trabajo*, or National Work Confederation). The F.A.I. has as its function the general propagation of Anarchist doctrine, while the C.N.T., with the aid of the F.A.I., gets what it wants for the workers and moves constantly toward its ultimate objective, the capture and control of industry by "the producers"—themselves.

Spanish anarchy made its appearance in the land before socialism and long before communism, which explains the deep hold it has on the masses. It dates from 1868 when Michel Bakounine, father of anarchy, sent a co-worker, J. Fanelli, into Spain there to create nuclei of the Spanish International Federation, inculcating the doctrine of "collectivist" and "free" anarchy as opposed to the authoritarianism of Marxism, which finds its ultimate expression in the Russian super-state. The Spanish Anarchists claim to have moulded themselves constantly to the realities, discarding all that is purely theoretical. They now call the social system they espouse "*comunismo libertario*" or liberating communism, the principal idea being that the freely established local commune is the source of power and has the first and last word. They find this to be a negation of the idea of the state, to which they are opposed. The economics of production and distribution is a paramount factor in the Anarcho-Syndicalist system, being the matter to which

the syndicates address themselves principally.

There are many workers like Alfonso de Miguel, engaged in the propagation of anarchy. Smug persons frequently pointed to his kind as proof that the workers had nothing about which to grumble. Being counted as skilled labor he earned 12 pesetas (then about \$1.66) a day, or at best 312 pesetas a month. For a day's pay one could buy about two pounds of beef or of cheese or a little more than two pounds of butter. Even "well-paid labor" ate little of such things. It would require the last centimo of a month's pay to live for a month in a modest pension. But "well-paid" laborers had their wives and children and so had to manage in other ways.

To the Front

The Levante sun was pouring out its brightness and heat as we left Valencia, running a gamut of barricades made of cobblestones, of sacks filled with sand, of cotton bales, of barrels of tar, of what-not, sentinels frequently halting us demanding the countersign. Manuel, our chauffeur, a good-natured and hearty militiaman who wore an enormous, new model sub-machine gun in a wooden holster, was given to over-awing the peasant sentinels with *bromas* or ready jokes.

A quick 11 miles through orange groves laden with green fruit brought us to Segunto where we turned inland passing by the ruins of the brawny old Segunto castle perched on a hill. Country life went on peacefully notwithstanding the war. But there were fewer men in the fields; the traffic was sparse and intermingled with the lorries and motor cars of militiamen. At a spot where the low-hanging vines were all too inviting we stopped and plucked grapes, figs, quinces. Valencian hospitality has always considered the passerby to be entitled to as much fruit as he could garner and eat.

We arrived at Segorbe with its burned cathedral and churches, their muted organs and silenced bells, whose brass has been melted for the making of cannon and shell.

I remembered entering a burned church, near Valencia, where workmen were tearing the organ apart, breaking up its tubes and stacking them in boxes to be sent away to the munitions factory. And here through gaping portals I saw, as in many another village and town, the charred débris of statues and altars. Why all this fury, one asks; why all this destruction? To the destroyers their handiwork is not insensate, for it represents the obliteration of an institution they hate. The real question, which can only be met in a calm and realistic spirit, is, "Why all this hatred?" On the outskirts of Segorbe a "pastor", as shepherds here are called, and his flock impeded our way. He was the only pastor here whose flocks still followed him.

We then entered territory once occupied by the insurgents, reaching Sarrión, converted into a hospital base and where, I was told, money had been abolished and pure *comunismo libertario* implanted. In this matter of accepting pure communism, or a version of it, the municipalities and the areas they control have the fullest liberty, in conformity with the theory that the new social system must not be imposed from above but must be freely accepted by the people.

The Treachery of Valverde

La Puebla de Valverde was the last outpost in the direction of Teruel and a place where revolutionary history was made. Here the Iron Column, with its first aid hospitals and its cookeries, was based. In the center of the town was a huge romanescque church, built like a fortress and seemingly all out of proportion to this poor little village. Indeed, it could well swallow several of its houses. Now it was completely burned out, with walls and vaults fallen in. I questioned the villagers about their attitude toward the church, about their priests. It was the same sad story so frequently repeated. The priests were accused of being political bosses; of having too great a sense of acquisitiveness; of being in league with the wealthy exploiters of the people; of immorality and abuses.

Plainly all bonds of confidence and sympathy between pastor and flock were broken.

It was in this town that the Socialist deputy, Francisco Casas Sala, a colonel of carabineros, and 63 militiamen were murdered by the civil guard acting in treacherous combination with the rebels. The story has become classic in Spanish revolutionary lore, as "The Treachery of Valverde." The Civil Guard, feigning themselves to be loyal, had come up here with an unarmed militia column which they promised to arm upon arrival at the front. Instead they turned and fired point blank upon the militiamen while they were peacefully resting and lunching in the plaza. Sixteen were killed outright, others wounded or captured, while some escaped. Those who were captured were taken next day to the cemetery and there executed *en masse*. As the story had been widely published by the Spanish press I was anxious to check on it, as providing a clue to the probable veracity of similar stories. I found it not only true in its main reported details but in some respects understated. Witnesses and participants of the tragedy told me their stories at first hand and showed me the places whereon it transpired, the blood still caked in the ground.

La Comarada Maria

We had arrived at Valverde about noon, somewhat hungry. This provided the cue for *La Comarada Maria* to bring her talents into play. Maria Eguinoa was the woman war delegate of our party. True to the traditions of her sex, she had kept us waiting more than half an hour at the outset. Slender, in her forties, and of sandy hair, she was; and also philosopher, peacemaker, and direct actionist. At the outbreak of the revolution she had taken charge of an orphan asylum at Valencia and immediately started mothering the children. She attempted to put into practice, among the staff, the anarchist doctrine of complete equality as between comrade and comrade. Among other things she established the "*comida unica*," or single



J. Juan, Valencia

JOINING THE IRON COLUMN: A militiaman who deserted the rebel ranks at Teruel.

dining standard, meaning that professional staff and servants all ate together of the same food. While everybody agreed that it was a magnificent idea, the teachers and other members of the upper strata did not like it in their hearts and plotted to procure her removal as directress, on the pretext that she had no teacher's certificate and was consequently unqualified for her job. And so this little experiment in unadulterated anarchistic equality was wrecked on the rocks of an innate human consciousness of caste. *La Comarada Maria* now set about procuring the wherewithal for a meal for our party. The meal over, we continued on our journey toward the front.

The militiamen dressed in varied uniforms to suit their fancies. They wore blue overalls and jackets; the whole or the half

of regulation army uniforms; working clothes with belts and straps to give them a martial appearance; many red kerchiefs about the necks; natty militia caps ending in a slight peak fore and aft, which were now much the vogue, or, if they chose, broad-brimmed straw or felt hats and other most un-uniform headgear. They were a well fed, bright-eyed, amiable lot. Many of them had grown black chinbeards and sideburns which had now become quite *la moda*. A group of them invited me into their dugout and there we held forth in discourse about many things. Through the sight-holes we could see the rebel dugouts on the opposite hill, across a gully.

The next day, at dawn, we explored another part of the line. The rebels are evidently poor marksmen, and the militiamen have learned to laugh at their *cañonazos*. Later, we found they had sent that morning about 16 shells toward an encampment, only three exploding. One smashed the unoccupied part of a dugout and wounded a man slightly in the leg. Part of this camp was spread across the railway which came up from Valencia, going to Saragossa. This was the end of rail communication. Several bridges between this point and Teruel had been blown up by the rebels. At one of the bridges an enemy machine gun was constantly sputtering. "That gun is manned by a priest," said a militiaman recently escaped from the enemy.

Squads, platoons, companies and similar military units were abolished here. The squad is replaced by the group, composed of 10 men who choose their own leader, or delegate. Ten groups form a *centuria*, which likewise has its delegate or *jefe*, and an undetermined number of *centurias*, which might well be 20 or even more, form a column. The column has some characteristic name, such as this present Iron Column, but the *centurias* are numbered. The groups, on the other hand, again have quite characteristic names, some of them rather fantastic, according to the whims or caprices of the members. No doubt they are a factor in inspiring *esprit de corps*.

"We are the Sea Wolves and there are

three groups of us," told a befurzed and weather-beaten militiaman whom you immediately pictured as belonging in a seaman's oilskins. His 29 fellow Sea Wolves, he explained, all abandoned their nets to take up fighting. There were a multitude of other names, some of persons or personalities, others suggestive of the qualities of the components. I found the Ship Builders, for instance, and the Eagles, the Tigers, and the Black Group. Also the Negus Group. In the Black Group I found Pete Catala, long a resident of New York and other American cities, who spoke first-rate American.

This left flank of the Iron Column had had no leader ever since Rafael Martí, better known by the sobriquet of Pancho Villa, was killed. Martí was shot in a treacherous way by a rebel captain. The militiamen had advanced and captured a hill where a number of rebels were caught in a trap. According to José Miranda Rubio, a militiaman who was one of the witnesses to what happened: "A group of the enemy held up their hands and came toward us shouting 'Brothers! Brothers!' Pancho Villa threw down his rifle and went forward to embrace their leader, whom we saw was a captain. He thought they wanted to join with us. He shouted '*Viva la anarquia!*' and threw his arms around the captain. Then the captain shouted '*Viva Cristo Rey!*' ['Long live Christ the King!'], took Pancho's pistol from its holster, stepped backward, and shot him dead."

I later found from various witnesses, of whom I refrained from asking leading questions, ample corroboration of this story which, moreover, is now well known.

That night, in the kitchen of a peasant family, by the flicker of the fire of an open hearth, we sat at a rough table of hewn boards, over a meal of olive oil, bread, garlic, and hot water, together with a *paella* of chicken and rice. Our party and others of their comrades talked long into the night.

An Evening with the Anarchists

Of what do Anarchists talk? Of food and clothing for the militiamen; of party

morale; of war plans and strategy. They lamented the conduct of a *comarada*—one of their best known woman orators—who did not behave quite anarchistically in a hotel in Madrid a few days previously, when she insisted upon eating paid fare apart from the common crowd, whose company and food were not to her liking, thus in practice belying the equality she preached. When war plans were broached someone urged caution. "I am absolutely sure of everyone here," spoke *La Comarada Maria*. And the talk went on unrestrained.

Maria swerved the conversation around to her theory of rationalism, the philosophy taught by Francisco Ferrer, founder of the Modern School, who was court-martialed and shot at Barcelona after the "Tragic Week" of 1909. The occult forces which are believed to have inspired his execution help to explain some of the popular odium against religion and the army. She directed her explanations particularly to three other members of our party, Gruff Ramon Benet, who also had come from France to help fight the Fascists; the somewhat somber and vigilant Juan Barbillo; and Grego Bondia, a Catalan whose name meant Gregory Good Day.

Racionalismo

"Rationalism," *La Comarada* expounded, "teaches men who are bitter against each other about unimportant things that they must reason matters out and that then they will see how senseless are their quarrels. For it will be plain to them that each one may be a little right and a little wrong. I

always try to make men see that when they are quarreling. Once in the trenches I tried to make peace between two angry men, but one became so furious with me that he hit me. Then he realized what an evil thing he had done and how right had been my reasoning. Those men decided never to quarrel again and now they are the best of friends.

"There was another time when I saw a civil guard about to torture a prisoner. I said to him: 'Do not torture him. Listen to your own heart, to the man who is beneath your uniform. Let the prisoner come and talk to me. I will make him tell the truth.' And it happened the way I said. I met the same civil guard some years later; he recognized me and thanked me and said that thereafter he had always listened to his heart."

There had been hard words that night between Manuel and some other members of the party because he had wanted to be shooting off his new machine gun up there in the trenches; to waste time looking in a field for a shell that had exploded near him the last time he was here; had wanted to do many other things for no other reason than that he had just wanted to do them. Since supper he had been sulking in a café, but now he came in. I left the party, retiring to my bed in a peasant's home across the road.

The next morning the atmosphere had changed. There existed cordiality and mutual respect between Manuel and the rest. I could not help but feel that during my absence *La Comarada Maria* had again been trying out her *racionalismo*.

Macaulay on Spain

"THERE is no country in Europe which is so easy to over-run as Spain: there is no country in Europe which it is more difficult to conquer. . . . Her armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs; but her mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities; but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. . . . War in Spain has, from the days of the Romans, had a character of its own; it is a fire which cannot be raked out; it burns fiercely under the embers; and long after it has in all seeming been extinguished, bursts forth more violently than ever."

—From Macaulay's Essay upon "The War of Succession in Spain" (1702-1713).

Quoted from the *World Review*

INSTRUCTIONS TO ITALIAN PRESS

THE Italian anti-Fascist paper, *Giustizia e Libertà* secured these instructions covering the period January 5 to May 10. "More delicate" orders are given orally to prevent "leakages." That explains the absence from the instructions of all mention of the Italian defeat on the Guadalajara front in Spain.

- JANUARY 5**—Do not criticize Turkey even if she lets through Russian and Spanish warships with supplies for the Spanish Government party. . . .
- JANUARY 7**—Do not concern yourselves with the German attitude to naval movements in the Mediterranean.
- JANUARY 11**—Do not reproduce the Rome correspondence of the "Christian Science Monitor" on the popularity of Minister Ciano.
Never attack Switzerland, and publish no news which might be disagreeable to her Government.
- JANUARY 16**—Give no news of the bombardments of inhabited centres by the Spanish "Nationalists," and above all deny that it is done by Italian or German aviators.
- JANUARY 19**—Do not reproduce the United Press report of the "arrest" by the "Reds" of an Italian merchant ship in Spanish waters.
- JANUARY 25**—Complete silence on the fact that the Hungarian Chief of Military Staff has been in Milan.
Disinterest yourself completely from the Fascist movement in Switzerland.
- JANUARY 29**—Do not reproduce the telegrams of Signor Starace on the occasion of ordinary sporting events. . . .
- FEBRUARY 2**—Without giving a formal denial refer in speaking of the Pope's illness to the fact that the news of the forthcoming arrival of an English doctor is false. . . .
- FEBRUARY 9**—Do not describe the military situation of the Spanish "Reds" as disastrous. Be less optimistic.
- FEBRUARY 10**—Suppress entirely the news of the acquisition of Spanish boats by the Garibaldi co-operative.
- FEBRUARY 17**—Do not give any news of
(1) The coming of Dr. Schuschnigg to Italy;
(2) His forthcoming marriage with a society lady;
(3) His dissolution of the Austrian Fascist Party.
- FEBRUARY 20**—Begin and continue a strong campaign against Czecho-Slovakia.
Absolute silence on the date fixed for ending the dispatch of volunteers to Spain.
- FEBRUARY 26**—Insist on the eventuality of Eden's leaving the Foreign Office. Have sent from London news of Eden's dismissal.
- MARCH 5**—Do not reproduce facts about the metal reserves of the Bank of Italy published in the French papers. Suppress entirely news of the arrival at Naples of wounded volunteers coming from Spain and transported by our hospital ships.
Make an end once for all of the stories of children running away from home to see the Duce at Rome.
- MARCH 7**—Do not publish the news that the *Rex* was surprised by a terrible storm between Gibraltar and the Azores, which resulted in one dead and several wounded. . . .
- MARCH 17**—Emphasize and give the greatest importance to the communiqué of the Government at Salamanca as to the eventual cession of Spanish Morocco by the Valencia Government to England and France.
Be sure not to give the impression that there is a suspension of military activity in Spain.
Be careful how you give the news about the girl who made an attempt on the life of M. Chambrun and who in the past frequented certain military quarters in Rome. . . .
- APRIL 7**—Dilate upon the Yagoda episode in Soviet Russia, and play up the supremacy and immorality of the adventurer Stalin. . . .
- APRIL 14**—Reproduce and amplify the news of the Stefani Agency about how desirable it would be to burn the contagious quarters of London unworthy of a civilized age. Add that Edward, if he had continued to reign, would have provided for it. . . .
- APRIL 18**—Go carefully about the conflict between the Vatican and Germany and stay neutral. In any case, incline to the side of Germany but without ever reproducing news about the trials of priests accused of immorality with which the German press is full.
- MAY 6**—It is absolutely forbidden to publish any articles or make any reference whatever to the British Government; limit yourselves purely to Stefani.
Emphasize the news about the big crowd at Rome for tomorrow's review.
- MAY 10**—Stress any unfortunate incident that may happen during the Coronation celebrations; disparage the importance of the political conversations in London.

MEXICO'S MELTING-POT

*The Government seeks to rehabilitate
unassimilated, diverse native groups*

By MAURICE HALPERIN

AMERICA has been described as the great melting-pot of modern times. This is essentially true, not only of our own United States but of most of the countries which lie to the south of us. Perhaps in none has the fusion of races and cultures produced a civilization so thoroughly blended and so distinctly national in texture as in our own country. Yet, in a very real sense, there is little in either our racial or cultural ancestry that is genuinely American.

Mexico, by way of contrast, is primarily a nation of Americans. The blood of the copper-tan aborigine runs thick in the veins of its inhabitants. Few among that five per cent of the native population which is commonly classified as of "pure" Spanish extraction can account for the racial origins of their grandparents with anything like certainty; and rare indeed are those who can be sure of their great-grandparents' ethnic characteristics.

Unlike the English settlers, to whom the only good Indian was a dead Indian, the Spanish *conquistadores*, despite the violence that accompanied their invasion, from the very beginning mated with the daughters of the vanquished natives. This process gave rise, during the colonial period, to the formation of a complicated caste system based on the various degrees of racial mixture, at the top of which stood the ever dwindling *criollo*, the aristocrat of undiluted Spanish strain.

Independence from Spain did away with the caste system, and though it brought little real economic or social change for the great mass of Mexicans, it removed the last barrier of racial discrimination and tacitly recognized what three centuries of inter-

marriage had already accomplished—the fact that Indian Mexico had become largely a nation of mixed-breeds or *mestizos*. Biologically speaking, this amalgamation of native and European blood has little practical significance, that is, as far as either anthropologist or geneticist can tell, but it represents an important cultural phenomenon—the emergence of a uniquely blended set of social institutions and habits.

Mexico's Indo-Hispanic melting-pot, however, has functioned with much less efficiency than our own. The English colonists brought with them the seeds of a modern and dynamic social, economic, and political organization. In the North American wilderness these seeds sprouted with considerable ease, since the vast continental area was sparsely populated, and then only with tribal hunting groups who were both numerically and culturally too weak to withstand the onslaught of the newcomers.

The Spanish conquerors, on the other hand, transplanted a relatively static feudal civilization to a thickly populated land whose inhabitants probably outnumbered the present Mexican population of eighteen million. Then again, despite the periodic and often far-flung domination of powerful nations like the Mayas and the Aztecs, Mexico at the time of the Conquest represented a veritable maze of ethnic groups living at appreciably different cultural levels, each with its own language, customs, and social organization. In several instances, native civilization had already reached a point where it had much in common with the feudal institutions imposed upon them by the Spaniards. Climatic and topographic conditions also encouraged the survival of cultural diversity and isolation.

Thus both history and geography, it would seem, conspired to make Mexico a country of more or less self-contained, change-resisting folk communities.

If we realize that until very recently those forces which make for uniformity and a well-knit national culture failed to develop in Mexico, then it is not surprising to find the country still liberally spotted with communities and even large tribal groups which, for all practical purposes, must be classified as maintaining their ancestral Indian, rather than an Indo-Hispanic, mode of life. For the anthropologist, these Indians constitute a valuable scientific laboratory, while the repressed cliff-dwellers of Park Avenue and the Bronx, unacquainted with the realities of primitive life, are apt to grow sentimental about any effort to disturb their "idyllic" existence. To the Mexican Government, however, striving to eradicate disease and hunger, to raise the material standards of living of the whole nation, and to transform it from a poverty-ridden, illiterate, semi-feudal country to a modern, unified state, these unassimilated indigenous lumps in the national melting-pot present a serious and urgent problem.

Diversity of Cultures

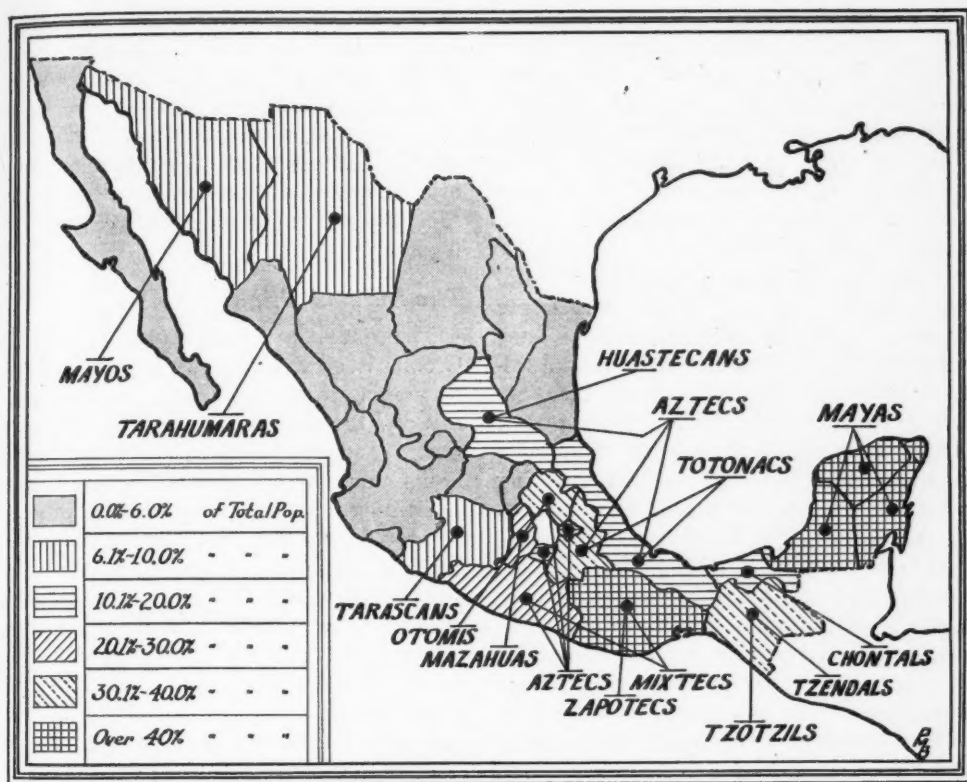
A conservative estimate would put the total Indian population in Mexico at some four million. This is based on the census of 1930 which attempted to set down the number of people still speaking Indian tongues. Of these, more than half know no Spanish whatsoever, while the others, technically bilingual, in reality have only the barest smattering of Spanish. The presence of a living native language is perhaps the most significant indication of isolation from national life, and hence of the survival of a practically pure Indian culture. Physical characteristics, though they usually coincide with linguistic and other cultural traits, are not always a reliable gauge. Blue-eyed Indians have a distressing way of cropping up in the most remote aboriginal villages.

The linguistic map of Mexico indicates that some 65 indigenous tongues, belong-

ing to 13 major language families, are today in common use by as many Indian tribes. Eighty per cent of the Indians speak dialects belonging to four of the major language groups. These are, in the order of their importance: *Nahuatlana*, spoken principally by the descendants of the Aztecs now living in south-central portions of the republic; *Mixteco-Zapotecana*, chiefly used by the Mixtecs and Zapotecs over a wide southern and south-western area; *Maya-Quicheana*, the language of the Mayas in the Yucatan peninsula and of other lesser tribes in Tabasco and Chiapas; *Otomiana*, spoken mainly by the Otomis in Hidalgo and other central states. In the greater part of the Yucatan and Oaxaca, and in significant portions of Hidalgo, Puebla, Chiapas and Guerrero, Indians make up a majority of the population.

Many of the smaller Indian groups, like the tiny communities of Lacandonese, buried in the jungles of Chiapas, or the more numerous Tarahumaras, locked in the mountain fastness of Chihuahua, are so far removed from the centers of the nation's economic life that at the present time, their isolation is still not a matter of immediate concern. It is the larger bodies, situated close to productive regions and the cross-roads of commerce, forming veritable nations within nations, which obstruct Mexican progress and unity and create serious problems for which the Government is actively seeking a solution.

Take the Otomis as an example. A scant hundred miles north of Mexico City, in the state of Hidalgo, the great Pan-American highway skirts the edges of sleepy Ixmiquilpan. This pleasant little town, with its massive church, quiet market-place, and patches of bright green verdure is the gateway to the bleak, arid Mezquital valley where some twelve thousand Otomi Indians live. Two hundred years ago, a small area on the outskirts of town had been irrigated, creating fertile lands which were immediately appropriated by *criollos* and which later fell into the hands of *mestizos* and foreigners. The rest of the valley, deemed without value, was left to the Otomis.



Don Aurelio, cheerful and slightly corpulent *mestizo*, sat beside me as we drove east over the rough trail that leads into the center of the valley. As we lurched over the trail, the valley seemed to be uninhabited; but stopping now and then to look closely, one could detect what amounted to dwellings scattered a half-mile or so apart.

About three miles out, we finally drew up before a two-hut enclosure, partly fenced by organ cactus and prickly vines. Don Aurelio, who was both guide and interpreter, stepped forward and peered over the fence. "Ah-shah-whoo-âh, tee-shah-deê," he began in the nasal, sing-song tones of the Otomi language, meaning "good-day, and how are you?" A long conversation followed in which Don Aurelio did most of the talking, but after several minutes we were permitted to enter. Our hosts were not exactly inhospitable, but very timid and bashful.

Their establishment was strictly home

made. More than that, all of its materials grew wild in the immediate vicinity. The walls of both huts were made of prickly desert vines bound with maguey fibre. The limbs of the mezquite tree served as cross-beams, while the dried leaves of the wild palm furnished thatch for the roof. Not so much as a single nail, to mention only an elementary product of western civilization, was used in the construction of these shacks.

The smaller one, a combination kitchen and granary, was built around a short, thick multi-branched *garambullo* tree beneath which an open fire slowly burned. The tree served as a vent for the fire, but smoke nevertheless settled thickly in the hut. Mezquite pods and *nopal*, tender young cactus leaves, were cooking in earthenware pots. Close by, a woman was grinding corn on a flat stone slab. The other hut served as sleeping quarters. Straw mats stretched on the bare ground took the

place of beds. In one corner stood a barrel half full of fermenting *pulque*, whitish juice of the ever provident maguey plant. A few strands of raw wool hanging from a rack completed the furnishings of the hut. The only signs of post-Columbian culture on the entire premises were the barrel, a shovel, the inevitable discarded oil can, and a few tin plates.

Our Otomi hosts were small, thin, child-like creatures whose round, dull-bronze faces contracted sharply at the chin. They were dressed in a medley of rags and tatters, and were distinctly dirty; they undoubtedly had little choice in this matter since the scarcity of water made cleanliness impossible. A 25-year-old woman, suckling a tiny infant, seemed aged and worn out. On the whole, the family, though undernourished, was in fairly good health, since there is plenty of sunshine and the valley is some six thousand feet above sea level. Nevertheless, they are in constant danger of contracting typhoid fever, typhus, and intestinal diseases.

This household is one of the more "prosperous" in the Mezquital. Instead of the usual two acres it owns four, and engages in "agriculture" as well as "industry." Every three or four years there might be enough rain to produce a meager crop of corn; this is the extent of its "agriculture." The family's chief economic activity is the preparation and spinning of maguey fibre. The *lechugilla*, a small maguey that grows wild, is the source of this fibre. The tough leaf is pounded and scraped until the fibre is exposed and separated. The latter is set out to dry in the sun, and then it is spun into a coarse thread by means of small prehistoric spindles. The whole family assists in this duty, which consumes every spare minute of men, women, and children alike.

This task is not performed for pleasure or to while away time, as one may imagine upon meeting a group of Otomis. With the product of his spinning, the Otomi weaves *ayate*, a rough gauze-like cloth that resembles burlap in texture. A small portion of the *ayate* he uses to make shawls,

belts and sacks for family use, but most of it he has to sell at the weekly market held in Ixmiquilpan in order to buy his mite of corn, beans, and on rare occasions, a wooden barrel or a few yards of cotton goods. Only by dint of constant work by every member of the family can sufficient food be secured to keep body and soul together.

The Indians' Plight

The social and intellectual life of the Otomis is on the same drab level as their economic activity. Without beasts of burden and the simplest of civilized tools, the Otomi Indian works fourteen to sixteen hours a day the year round to provide himself with rudimentary shelter and the most meager food. Disease-carrying *pulque* is both the source of his recreation and of life-sustaining vitamins, sugar and alcohol, which no other element of his diet provides. What at a distance may appear to the romantic dreamer as a community of "nature's children" enjoying "happiness" and "freedom" turns out to be, on closer contact, an unfortunate people living in dull stupor and enslaved by an inhospitable nature.

While the Otomis of the Mezquital valley live under special difficulties imposed by the arid region they inhabit, their plight on the whole serves to illustrate that of Mexico's Indian population in general. Approximately 40 per cent of that population live under nearly similar climatic conditions. Others lead an even more precarious existence in the biting cold of the sierras, while still others, favored with the more abundant food of the hot lands, are chronic victims of malaria and more violent tropical pestilence.

During the nineteenth century, the methods employed to bring the Indian within the scope of national life were chiefly those of subjugation by conquest or utter extermination. Thus the Mayas of the Yucatan and Quintana Roo were finally conquered and forced to toil on the henequen plantations, while thousands were sold into slavery in Cuba. In the Eighties, during

the Díaz dictatorship, the brave Yaquis of Sonora, led by their great chief Cajeme, were almost exterminated after a long and fierce struggle. Their fertile lands were seized, and most of what remained of their tribe was scattered over the country. Many of them were transported to the Yucatan, where they succumbed to tropical disease and the brutal treatment of the henequen landlords.

After the 1910-1920 revolution, a new consciousness of Mexico's Indian heritage, coupled with a humanitarian urge to help the indigenous population, brought about a marked change in Indian policy. The necessity of educating the Indian was generally recognized. However, because of lack of means and a clear understanding of the problems involved, little was actually accomplished. During the course of several years, a few hundred Indian boys were brought to Mexico City and placed in a special Indian Boarding School. They learned rapidly and well, proving what scientists already knew—that the Indian is thoroughly capable of assimilating modern culture if given an opportunity. Nevertheless, when sent back to their tribes to serve as teachers, they invariably found it impossible to remain. They had become accustomed to sleeping in beds and washing their teeth, and they had learned scientific farming methods. Both the new habits and the new methods could not be successfully introduced without careful agronomic and social preparation.

New Deal for the Natives

Profiting by former errors, the present Mexican Government is determined to approach the problem of educating the Indian in a realistic fashion. It does not consider this as a charitable undertaking, but as a necessary task for the sake of the country as a whole, since it can never achieve a high cultural and productive level so long as a significant minority remains in a primitive, pre-Conquest state of civilization. At best, however, the incorporation of the Indian will be a slow task because education alone

without economic rehabilitation will result in failure.

While plans for education have not yet become crystallized, the new tendency clearly points in the direction of practical, utilitarian instruction based on the psychology, habits, and living conditions of the Indians themselves. To aid educators, a whole corps of experts from the National University—ethnologists, biologists, sociologists, linguists, economists and bacteriologists—are at the present time making a minute study of the Mezquital inhabitants, their culture and environment.

Thus a new civilization will not be thrust upon them suddenly and unwillingly. Their confidence must first be gained, and centuries of suspicion and mistrust cannot be wiped out in a day. Schools must be provided for them, but also the necessary time to attend them. Instruction must first be given in the Otomi language, not only because it is the only language they know, but because they would refuse to learn Spanish if forced to. For this purpose a training school in the Otomi language has already been set up at Ixmiquilpan, while the National University at Mexico City plans to create a new Institute of Indian Linguistics during the present year. Finally, the level of instruction must be coordinated at every stage with the changing economic and cultural level of the Indian.

The general tenor of this program appears to be sound. To work out the details and then to execute them efficiently and intelligently on a wide scale will tax both the ingenuity and the financial resources of the Government. If this were the sole or even the chief social problem which a rejuvenated Mexico now faces, its solution would not be half so difficult. Nevertheless, the importance of assimilating the Indian is now fully realized. It may turn out to be a more arduous process than even the Government's cautious Department of Indian Affairs imagines, but certainly the fire beneath the Mexican melting-pot burns more brightly now than ever before.

OUR SCORE IN TRADE

America's balance sheet in foreign commerce points to a bright outlook for the future

By HARRY TIPPER

IT WOULD be an excellent thing if we could get rid of some of our traditional methods of describing foreign trade and find other designations to replace the "balance of payments," "balance of trade," "favorable" and "unfavorable" that recur constantly in any discussion of the subject. Fundamentally, of course, the total transactions in and out of a currency must balance, but the final value is no greater nor less because of that fact.

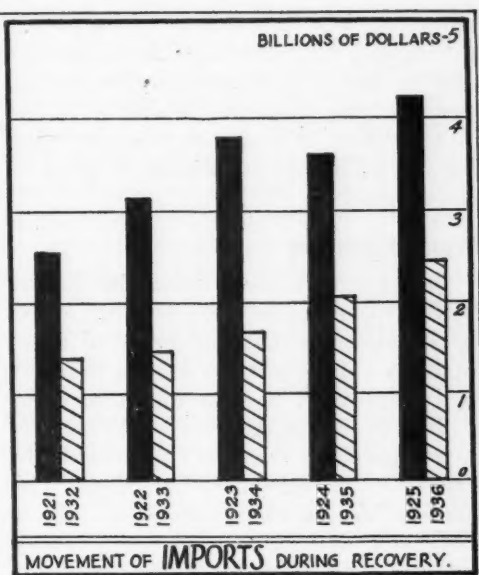
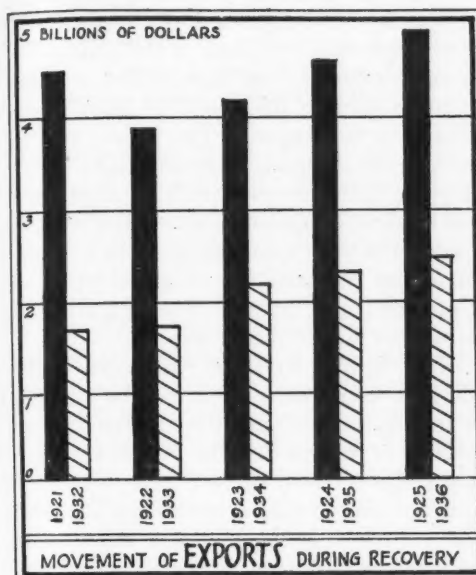
Unfortunately, the man who is not experienced in foreign trade interprets the figures as he would a balance sheet of his own business. Such an interpretation is unsound. The groups of figures that are set up on the import and export sides of the ledger have little in common with each other, except that they all represent transfers into and out of our currency. The balance sheet with which the business man is familiar is an entirely different document. Every figure bears upon the value and profit of the business, every figure is concerned with debit or credit, and every item is devoted to the simple objective of producing or distributing goods at a profit. Even so, the summary of a business contained in its balance sheet tells very little, and only by going behind it into the details can any important understanding be secured.

Our export and import figures, however, are not essentially debit and credit items. The groups of transactions involved in the balance of payments or the balance of trade summaries of our foreign trade represent millions of transactions, governmental and private, trade, travel, cultural, non-recurring and recurring, occasional and continual, having in common only the fact that

they either make dollar exchange available to people in other countries or transfer the dollars back to us. Groups of transactions may be out of balance, and generally are, providing an excess on one side or the other. These excesses, however, have little to do with the value of the transactions, or their economic or political utility. The misleading resemblance to a balance sheet is emphasized by the items being reported in dollars and consequently present a very similar appearance to a profit-and-loss account. The fact is, however, that these currency accounts obscure the many variations in price relation that occur during the movement of commodities, services, investments, and other groups of transactions across national borders.

Examine carefully the statistics of exports and imports of merchandise, generally referred to as the balance of trade, but which never balance. While it would be incorrect to say that there exists no relation between the export side and the import, the items on the opposite pages of the ledger have so indirect a relation to each other that examination in terms of balance becomes absurd. It does nothing to illuminate their value or their significance and suggests a relation between the two far more definite than what really exists. True, these accounts are of great value to exporters and importers, bankers, forwarders, transporters, economists, and to certain governmental departments who have to handle the political contact with the flow. The purposes that are served by these summaries, however, do not do away with the misleading form and nomenclature attached to them.

Regardless of balance-of-trade sheets, the



exports of cotton and automobiles have a very slight relation to the import of coffee and manganese, and what little exists is of the most indirect character. Imports follow the trend of economic events in the United States and reflect definitely the purchasing power, production necessities, and output in our own country. The close relation that exists between imports and our own welfare is shown by the parallel between the value of imports over a series of years and the volume and earnings of workers. Whenever we are employing our people fully and paying them steadily we import more goods, and vice versa. Particularly during a time of recovery do imports reflect the domestic and not the world picture in this respect. Growth in our automobile production from a fraction to full volume demands vastly more rubber, chromium, tungsten, and the rest of the fifty-odd materials that must be secured from abroad to enable us to manufacture the transportation unit. Advance in steel output from 15 per cent to 80 per cent capacity draws on the world for manganese at an entirely different rate. Increase in the canning industries does the same thing to tin. If other industrial countries are demanding more of such materials, the relation of visible

supply and demand is changed very rapidly and our imports not only go up in quantity but their value goes up much more rapidly than the quantity on account of the price increases brought about by the changed relation of supply and demand.

Inasmuch as we usually consider foreign trade in its dollar relations, the effect of the recovery is over-emphasized in the import side of the ledger. Our foreign purchases of feed grains and other competitive agricultural products reflect the scarcity or plenitude of our own crops rather than internal recovery or changes in the domestic industrial economy. Of course the price matter comes in here again to confuse the issue, making a shortage under one price condition look far more serious than a similar shortage under other conditions of price.

True, all these increased purchases from other countries turn a lot of dollars over to ownership abroad and eventually require more foreign purchases in this country, but the road which brings the dollars we have paid for rubber back to us in purchases of cotton and automobiles is long and winding. The dollars owned by the rubber planters or shippers in Malay, Java, Burma, Sumatra, or Borneo must travel a lot

before they will be available for the people in Uruguay, South Africa or Australia who want to buy refrigerators, radios, oil or steel products from the producers in the United States, even though it is necessary that the dollars owned abroad be spent in this country.

Trade Equation

The export of goods from the United States depends upon the producing necessities and the purchasing power of other countries. Many of these have a different pace of recovery. Some are not recovering at all and much as they would like to, they cannot purchase from us concurrently in relation to our purchases from them. The markets for our American autos, power equipment, industrial machinery, radios, cosmetics and a host of other items are scattered through the 101 countries with whom we transact business and the dollars resulting from our purchases take a long time to get around all these areas.

So there is no direct or exact relation between the movement of imports and exports, except that they are related to the general curve of world movement. In recovery the imports into a particular country move out of relation with the exports. The imports are related to the speed of recovery in the domestic area, while the exports move more in accordance with the slower average of a number of countries.

Of late years the statistics of the trade have been further complicated by the variety of ingenious barriers or interferences that have been set up and that may operate to retard all flow into the countries using them, or be administered with the purpose of discriminating between one country and another. The political actions of all countries have reacted upon the trade and prevented recovery from expressing itself normally in the movement of goods and services. Until these excessive and numerous devices are reduced to reasonable proportions and quantity, the import and export statistics will remain more obscure and difficult to interpret.

Our present position in the international

sphere of trade shows the effect of our rapid economic recovery in the greatly increased imports, and the smaller average improvement in the world at large is reflected in our exports. The import figures include the demands of an unusually severe drought in this country, with its effect upon the relation of agricultural exports and imports, and the export statistics include the abnormal demand for certain types of equipment and material due to additional armament undertakings abroad.

The figures for the years 1921-1924 show a situation similar to the present, with the drought and the armament complications excepted. The increase of imports did not lead to an excess of imports over exports at that time and during those years little improvement was experienced in exports although the high value was practically maintained. However, in three other years since the World War the first quarter's merchandise trade has resulted in an excess of imports.

The year 1922 showed the low point in exports; low in imports was 1921. From 1922 to 1924 exports improved by 20 per cent, while imports increased by nearly 50 per cent from 1921 to 1924. From 1932 to 1936 the recovery in our exports amounts to 52 per cent, while our imports have increased by 80 per cent.

The figures in the accompanying charts indicate that the trend of recovery here and around the world expresses itself more slowly in the export of goods to the numerous countries we serve than in the pull exerted upon the commodities we need for our own domestic economy. Four factors account for a large part of this difference between the increase in exports and in imports:

1. The increased demands for raw and semi-processed materials operate immediately to permit increased domestic production.
2. The prices of raw materials fall and rise at a rapid pace and respond to increased demand quickly.
3. The average purchasing power of fifty or sixty countries reacts more slowly

than of one, and the manufactured goods section of our exports shows little increase in the unit price.

4. In this particular instance the loss of agricultural exports in a time of rapid price increases and the need for additional imports during the same period distorts the picture by removing from export and adding to import substantially.

A Temporary Condition

The excess of imports is an incidental consequence of the various circumstances of the depression and recovery which has no real bearing upon the value of this trade or its future prospects. However, it is held to change the whole picture and is used as evidence that the policy of the present administration has had an undue influence upon the trade, with consequent injury to the producers in this country. The figures indicate that this viewpoint is not borne out, that the relation between the growth of exports and imports is in no wise unusual, and that the present condition is a temporary one, due mainly to the particular state of recovery here and in the more important markets of the world. But a subject as traditionally associated with partisan politics and politico-economic theories must suffer at all times from partial, one-sided, and limited interpretations which serve the purpose of special pleadings on behalf of the doctrines to be advanced.

The misleading effect of export and import statistics, read as a balance, is nowhere shown more definitely than in the almost exclusive attention given to the growth of imports and the explanations advanced to account for it. To some it is not only new but portentous and indicative of danger, unwise national policy, and so on. Others view it as equally new but a welcome sign of adjustment to our actual world position. This is emphasized because the excess of imports looms up in the minds of many people as a loss figure on a profit-and-loss statement, whereas it has nothing to do with the profit and loss to the citizens and the government. The individual transactions

on both sides of the sheet are normally profitable to some of our citizens and the final accumulation gives no indication of the relation to the welfare of the citizenry as a whole. For many years Great Britain has found it necessary and valuable to accept a considerable excess of imports as a regular feature of her external merchandise accounts. Germany, on the other hand, must export more than she imports, even if her industries and citizens have to go without very valuable commodities to accomplish this.

The fact is that our international trade did not develop in consequence of theories or special policies. It has grown in response to the needs and desires of people and of the businesses which serve them. Some 60 to 65 per cent of our imports are on the free list because they are of vital importance to our industries and our people whose habits of living would be greatly disturbed if they were withheld. In addition, a large number of equally important commodities are subject to a tariff, not because there is any probability that we can supply ourselves with them domestically, but to support a group with vested interests in some domestic production. These items are so necessary that we will procure them without considering "balances of trade" or other general theories. Similarly many of our exports are equally necessary to other peoples and the threads of our external trade are so closely woven with those of our internal trade that pulling them out of our economic fabric would probably destroy not only the pattern but the strength of the fabric itself.

Examined with this background, the current statistics of trade are encouraging but not entirely satisfactory. The increases are valuable and the improvement is substantial, the changes in the flow are quite interesting, but neither the totals nor the individual groups offer clear ground for forecast beyond the immediate future, except that, as in the past, the total of our foreign trade will increase with the continuance of recovery and the maintenance of satisfactory world price bases.

A FUTURE FOR IRAN

*The land once known as Persia embarks
on a new policy of strict nationalism*

By JOHN C. LE CLAIR

TWO years ago, as the latest in a series of nationalistic moves in the land of the Achenemians, the name of Persia was officially changed to Iran. With the other countries of the Near East—Turkey, Afghanistan, and Iraq—Iran had come of age, determined to be master of her own house. The prime mover in this and similar actions directed at the lessening of European influence in the country has been Reza Shah Pahlevi I. His added diplomatic activities in neighboring capitals have led to the belief that, in addition to the elevation of his own country to a position of economic and political independence, he contemplates the organization of a political union of the Persian, Turkish, Afghanistan, and Arabian peoples as a foil to European influences in Middle Asia.

Iran occupies an area of some 628,000 square miles of the ancient Iranian Plateau, with a population of 12,000,000. Until 1925 the country was under the control of the Kajar dynasty, but in that year the Majlis (Constituent Assembly), in the name of national welfare, deposed the then-reigning Shah, Sultan Ahmad, and elected Reza Pahlevi, then Secretary of War, but formerly merely a commander of a Cossack regiment, as hereditary Shah. He was crowned on April 25, 1926.

Iran today, as before the war, finds itself a factor in the rivalries of the great Powers, but the conditions of the 1907 agreement between Great Britain and Russia no longer exist. Iran in recent years has played shrewd politics, which have left her former masters, Great Britain and Russia, with but a vestige of their influence, with which they must be content in the hope that compensation for political losses will come their way in the form of trade.

Of the two, Great Britain has been hard-

est hit, due in part to the circumstances of her control, and in part to the inability to realize that pre-war diplomatic methods are no longer effective in dealing with the people of the Middle East who have been awakened to nationalistic consciousness by the post-war success of their neighbors.

Unfortunate, too, was British blindness to the significance of the trend of events in Iran, an understanding of which might have prevented the attempt in 1919 to place Iran under English tutelage. This took the form of a treaty signed by the two countries by which, among other things, it was agreed that Great Britain was to supply expert advisers to the Iranian Government, equip the Iranian army, construct railroads and other means of transportation, and make a loan to Iran to be guaranteed by the customs revenues and other resources. Opposition to an agreement so reminiscent of the pre-war era developed quickly and brought into power in February 1921 a Nationalist group which speedily denounced it.

Since then Great Britain has been compelled to accept the abrogation of the Capitulations and the resumption of Iranian control over the customs, has surrendered the privilege of printing Iranian notes, has given up control of the telegraph lines, and has agreed to the curtailment of her oil interests as well as accepted added restrictions thereon. The new conditions under which foreign powers are allowed to operate in Iran indicate the determination of Iran to rid the country of the foreign concessionaire.

No incident better illustrates this situation than the recent treatment accorded the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. This organization is the outgrowth of the original grant to William Knox D'Arcy on May 28,



1901, involving an exclusive petroleum concession for a sixty-year period, and covered all of Iran except the five northern provinces. In 1909 this lease was acquired by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, in which the British Government is a majority stockholder. On November 27, 1932 the Iranian Government declared that it could not "legally and logically consider itself bound to the provisions of a concession which was granted prior to the establishment of a constitutional regime," and announced the cancellation of the lease. Iran at the time was fifth among the oil-producing countries of the world.

Great Britain challenged the right of the Iranian Government to cancel the concession and suggested that the matter be taken before The Hague or to the League. Iran refused, claiming that the original contract had been obtained under pressure, that the amount of the royalty (16 per cent of the net profits) had been unfairly calculated, and finally that the oil fields had not been fully exploited. A compromise was finally effected in May 1933. Among the terms made public was the extension of the lease for 60 years, the Iranian Government to receive a minimum royalty of 750,000 pounds a year based on a tax of four gold

shillings a ton on oil sold in Iran or exported. A further stipulation denying the Company the exclusive right to lay pipes in the Persian Gulf would seem to indicate that the Shah intends to allow other companies to compete.

The forced acceptance of terms as drastic as these by a semi-official organization is a far cry to the 1907 era, and shows that Great Britain is aware that Iranian friendship involves two factors which are all important—the oil holdings, and the route to India. If these are assured, the loss of smaller items in the course of the domestic evolution of Iran is of small consequence.

Increase in Soviet Trade

To a great extent the position of Soviet Russia during recent years, due in part to the circumstance of the Russian Renunciation, which had served to enlist Iranian support in furthering Soviet economic and commercial penetration south of the Caspian Sea, has been more favorable than that of Great Britain. As a result, her exports to Iran have approximated about \$12,000,000 a year, and Russian influence has been paramount in the North, which territory embraces the richest and most important provinces of Iran. In fact, up to

1935 the Soviet controlled the major portion of the Iranian trade under conditions particularly favorable to itself.

However, the expiration in that year of the Soviet-Iranian Commercial Convention of 1931 necessitated a new agreement, in which Iranian nationalism revealed itself as no friendlier to the possibility of Soviet influence than it had been to Great Britain. The treaty signed in August 1935, during the visit of an Iranian commercial and economic mission to the USSR, provided for the absorption by Russia of 40 per cent of the total exports of Iran. Cotton, dried fruits, rice, cereals, wool, and skins are to be exchanged by strict interstate barter for heavy machinery and factory products. Arrangements have also been made for the organization of through-rail connections between the two countries, and negotiations opened with the Soviet Trade Delegation regarding contracts for setting up industrial centers in Iran.

In this last trend towards the industrialization of Iran we have another factor which does not promise well for the future of Soviet trade. Russian exports in the past have consisted of cotton textiles, sugar, oil products, and matches. With manufacturing by machinery now going on, Iran is developing into a position where she can undertake to produce a good part of the mechanized production for which she has been dependent on foreign merchandise. Iran also supplies her own cotton textiles, is cultivating her own beetroot, and is pushing the sale of national oil products in competition with the Soviet. Its effects are observed in the decline in the importation of Soviet oil from 65,426 tons in 1932 to 32,801 tons in 1935. Today the major portion of Soviet exports to Iran are limited to manufactured iron and steel, agricultural machinery, and goods of similar type.

Past predictions that Russian trade dominance in Iran would lead to an eventual protectorate would appear today to have little possibility of success, as Iran proceeds to assume control of its economic and political life. As a result, Russian political

interests have been subordinated to trade possibilities, and its relations with Iran, based on treaties and guarantees which meet the former on terms of equality, make fear of Russian political dominance definitely a thing of the past.

Germany in Iran

In recent years Germany has made considerable progress in setting up shop in Iran, and today there are some 1,200 German nationals in the country. In Tabriz, the second largest city of Iran, lying about eighty miles from the Russian frontier, about 90 per cent of the Europeans residing there are Germans, while in Teheran, the capital, there is a considerable number of German business firms. Germans are to be found at the head of various industrial concerns which have sprung up in the past ten years, such as silk, tanneries, glass, tile, and carpets, and their firms have secured contracts for the construction of two of the most important sections of the Trans-Iranian Railway, as well as orders for military lorries and artillery for the Iranian army.

There is no doubt of the importance of Iran as a vital link between Europe and Asia. The visit of Doctor Schacht to Teheran last January, immediately following a stay at Angora, gave rise to considerable speculation regarding the possibility of a new Drang Nach Sud-Osten for Germany. While such might not be the intention, it might appear that Germany, in her present policy of reaching out in all directions in the hope of acquiring possibilities for future bargaining, apparently sees in Iran factors with international nuisance value.

The plans of Reza Shah Pahlevi have aimed at economic and political freedom for Iran. It was well understood that earlier gains with regard to the abrogation of concessions and capitulations were mere externals, and that, while Iran remained industrially backward and therefore dependent as to imports, it would be impossible to eliminate foreign control. As a first step towards economic self-sufficiency, extensive improvements in crop cultivation

have been undertaken. Cereal and cotton production have been improved by the introduction of modern methods, while tobacco and tea plantations, as well as the production of cotton textiles which are now displacing those of Great Britain, have all come under Government supervision. In addition, a tobacco factory has been erected on the outskirts of Teheran.

Trade Restrictions

In order to reap the fullest advantage of these reforms, a Foreign Trade Monopoly Law was passed on February 25, 1931, under which the entire foreign trade of the country was declared a government monopoly. Although in actual practice no such comprehensive monopoly is exercised, yet imports are subject to a system of quotas and import licenses, and in most cases are made conditional on a prior export of Iranian products.

Another protective device was the establishment of new trading companies during 1934-35. These companies consisted of monopolies and semi-monopolies which were given the exclusive rights to import all items of foreign production.

Still another indication of the determination of Reza Shah Pahlevi to eliminate foreign control from Iran is the construction of the Trans-Iranian Railway. This railroad, already ten years in the making, will connect the Caspian Sea with the Persian Gulf by a single track line roughly a thousand miles in length. The terminus on the Caspian Sea is Bender-i-Shah, which is linked with the Persian Gulf at Bendi-Shapur on the Bay of Khormusa, a natural harbor with excellent anchorage for shipping. For a country with the limited resources of Iran the cost is tremendous, running from twenty-five to thirty million pounds. Although it is expected that construction will be finished in 1939, there is possibility that the cost factor will postpone completion. Meanwhile, expenditures for construction are being met by taxation on imports, mobilization of internal capital and credit, and the utilization of royalties from the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A

second road, already completed, has been constructed from the Turkish-Persian frontier to Baluchistan. Along with this has gone the development of Iran's Caspian ports and a new harbor near Chalous.

An End to Invasion

The building of these roads represents the plan of Iran to provide a direct approach to the markets of the world, eliminating in this way the political ascendancy of foreign interests. One immediate effect of the Trans-Iranian will affect the economic influence of Russia in the Caspian regions, and it is expected that as soon as the completion of the road makes transportation costs feasible Russian goods, especially oil, will be displaced by native products.

The psychological effect of the construction of the road in the life of modern Asia will be possibly of even greater importance. The binding together of North and South Iran will constitute notice to the world that possibilities of Occidental penetration are at an end. To the rest of Asia it will indicate what audacity and determination can accomplish even when opposed to the might of Europe and the century-old tradition of its supremacy.

Iran today is not a strong power from a military point of view. The army numbers about 80,000, with a Security Force (Ananieh) of about 12,000. There is a small navy operating in the Persian Gulf and the nucleus of an air force. These, however, have only a domestic importance. The significance of Iran's position is that it is the product of a definite national policy under the leadership of Reza Shah Pahlevi. In furthering this plan Reza Shah Pahlevi has effected a reconciliation between Turkey and Afghanistan and his own journey to Angora, and the visit of the Ameer of Afghanistan to Teheran, would appear to have set up the cornerstones of a policy which, in conjunction with the economic and political development of Iran itself, looks to the eventual decline of Western influence in the Near East in the face of an aggressive nationalism.

CURRENT HISTORY IN THE WORLD OF THE ARTS

The **CULTURAL BAROMETER**

By V. F. Calverton

THE first thing an American thinks of when he goes to Mexico is how barren the United States is, by comparison, in color values and combinations of design. Except in those parts of the United States where foreign influences still persist, we are a relatively colorless and unlyrical people. The Puritanic strain has been too much for us. The simple, homespun outlook upon life fostered by our frontier environment has deprived us of that paganistic abandonment to color and song which European nations have carried down through the ages and which undeveloped, unindustrialized nations like Mexico and Peru have never lost. The Catholic fact in that connection is important. Catholic art, whatever its other defects, has always been esthetically rich and inspiring. In this country Catholic churches, in the main, have been more beautiful, more colorful, and more impressive than Protestant churches. But beyond that, in art or music, the Catholic contribution has been slight; in general, it has been far more derivative than original.

Our best songs, for example, have come from the less developed, the less tutored denizens of the land: the Negroes, who in their Spirituals, their Blues, and their Labor Songs, have been our richest contributors; the Indians, whose lyrics have only recently become the concern of our cultural explorers, and the Cowboys, whose soil-slinging songs and ballads have rung with an authenticity seldom heard in the music of our professional composers and singers.

On the whole, however, our energies have gone into other forms of creation. In the first place, we re-created a vast part of a vast continent. We tamed it, we subdued it, we sowed it, we ploughed it, we riveted and tied it together, we made it one. In its virginal and later its constructive phase, its energies

were largely consumed in a struggle to find itself, to develop order out of chaos. And finally, when order began to evolve, it found itself plunged into another struggle, the struggle of the machine. To convert inert metals into moving mechanisms, to resolve stubborn resources into dynamic structures, absorbed our energies for another century and still continue to drain them. In Europe that struggle for order was over at the time when the United States was bending all its efforts to establish it, forge it out of the wilderness. In Europe, that struggle, and most of the memories of it, were already congealed in tradition. In America tradition had—and still has—to form. Until comparatively recently, what form it did assume was foreign, an extension of the traditions of European *milieux* instead of our own.

We have poured our strength into physical instead of spiritual form. In other words, we have been more of a practical than a theoretical or artistic people. We like to press buttons, shift gears, release brakes, whirl dynamos, and are interested in observing and utilizing what the buttons, gears, brakes and dynamos do, which, for instance, explains why as a people we are more interested in photography than painting. The skyscraper represents the American type of mind in one of its most interesting, most exciting, and most genuine and representative forms, combining as it does utility with esthetics. In a word, we have written our best songs, composed our best music, painted our best pictures, in the form of iron and steel—and electricity.

This doesn't mean, for instance, that we have had no painters of note. Copley, Earl, Stuart, Eakins, Duveneck, Ryder, Homer, Inness, Sargent, and the expatriate Whistler, may not have been great painters in terms of



WPA Art Project

NEW HORIZONS IN AMERICAN ART: This mural by James Michael Newell was subsidized by, and is the property of, the United States Government. The Federal Art Project today employs 5300 artists in its divers activities.

European stature, but they certainly were painters of superlative skill and pronounced distinction. What we have lacked in painting, as in the case of the theatre and the other arts, has been an adequate public with esthetic interest and appreciation. The American public, inbred with the Puritan idea that all the arts were the evil products of idle men, never developed an appreciation or esteem for art or artist. The theatre was condemned, novels were condemned, painting was condemned, music was condemned—and what was the result: the sports craze as a vicarious outlet, with baseball, football, basketball, and golf as the ultimate derivatives.

In terms of the past, however, what resulted, in consequence of those facts, were individual artists, who were able, fortunately enough, to survive the hostility of the environment, but not art movement. Art movements are not the products of individual artists, but of tendencies, trends, directions, developing out of the work of many artists, not one—tendencies, trends and directions which grow out of the relationships between artists and their environment, between art and society. No country has suffered more from a lack of such relationship than this country, because no country has shown less interest in the artist as a social product, as a social integer, than America.

Because of that fact our artists have stood apart from the country as a whole, working in *milieux* of interest to the few but not to the many. They have depended for their support not upon an art-loving public, but upon the donations and favors of capitious and capricious patrons and of wily and conniving art-dealers. The eighteenth century landed aristocracy, enslaved though it was by the English tradition, was at least superior to the codfish aristocracy which developed into the industrial aristocracy that soon dominated the country in the nineteenth century. It was in the Gilded Age that the industrial aristocracy did most to render American art a nullity by demanding fake grandeur instead of honest simplicity as its criterion. It was from the influence of that period that the false façades, fake cornices, and hollow pillars, so notoriously associated with American architecture, were eventually derived.

Since that time, especially in the twentieth century, the work of Marin, Sloan, Robinson, Curry, Gropper, and above all that of Thomas Benton and Grant Wood, has given American art new and more indigenous roots, and endowed it with something of the spirit of the country itself. Most of these artists have tried, each in his own way, to bring art back to the people, but none of them has succeeded in the task because of two facts: first, that the

populace has not yet been educated to appreciate their work, and second, that the work of these men has been, with few exceptions, segregated from the larger part of the populace.

Art in Mexico

In Mexico, to which we referred at the beginning of this article, that has not been the case, because the Mexican government, years ago, revealed a genuine interest in art as a social thing, a thing which the masses as well as the classes should enjoy, and expended a considerable percentage of its budget in subsidizing artists to beautify its various public structures. It was as a result of such expenditures that some of the best art of Diego Rivera and Jose Clemente Orozco was born—art which made Mexico internationally famous.

In various other countries similar subsidies have produced valuable results. In the last decade and a half Soviet Russia and Mexico have been the only countries which have extended a generous hand to the artist, providing him with as secure an income as that of any other worker in any other field. At the present time, however, as I pointed out in this department last month, the United States in its WPA projects, has more than matched the Soviet and Mexican regimes in such governmental subsidies and magnanimities.

It almost seems as if the plastic arts need the support of the state in order to insure their highest and most inspiring productivity. In both Greece and Rome, to cite examples, the plastic arts flourished best when they were encouraged and subsidized by the state. The artist was engaged by the state, or rather by some state organization, and commissioned to do a certain task. He risked nothing in his endeavor since he was paid either in advance or in the process of his work. There was no unstable market upon which he had to hazard his creation.

Of course, under such circumstances, the artist must express in his work that which represents the prevailing attitude of the state, which really means the dominant attitude of society at the time. In a certain sense, such representation, especially in the case of progressive rather than decadent states, is salubrious. At times, it may force the more iconoclastic artist to be somewhat less obviously iconoclastic and make it necessary for him to adopt subtler forms of expression

in order to voice his spirit of protest and revolt, but on the whole, costly as such coercive subtlety may be, the artist gains more than he loses.

Body Over Mind

In the case of Greek art, we can find an excellent illustration of how the attitude of the state determined the nature of the prevailing esthetic conception, which, translated into different terms, means how society conditioned the work of the artist. Notwithstanding the intellectual influence of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, the Greeks worshipped bodily beauty more than intelligence. In all Greek sculpture one does not find a trace of the intellectual element. There are innumerable studies of the body in action, the body as exquisite form, aloft in eager leap, or tense with expectant spring, but none of the body in intellectual repose and meditation. The furrowed brow, or thoughtshot eyes, or inquisitive lips, are not to be found on Greek statues. The Greek artists did not aim at those things. It was the beautiful, strong body that they sought to portray. The body was a greater protection than the mind in those days of frequent combat and invasion. In Sicily altars were dedicated to the memory of those men whose bodies had been most perfect in their vigor and beauty.

It was in the straight line, however, that the Greek spirit achieved its noblest expression. The inspiration of Greek art revolved about the erect posture. The straight line denoted strength and power. It rose above defeat. It was the symbol of superiority and distinction. As a consequence, we find that the gods and individuals of high birth are always represented in ways that accentuate their rank. They are either placed upon lofty thrones or made to stand in positions of marvelous erectness. This is a testimony to their noble origin. Emotional expression is usually beneath them. Even when disaster strikes, as in the wounded Amazon of Polyclitus, the attempt is always to represent the individual as superior to pain, standing firmly against spear or pillar. Even where, as in the Niobe of Rome, a knee-fallen posture is projected, the dignity of the rigid line is adhered to as far as can be maintained within the scope of the design.

This tradition, it is obvious, was social and not esthetic in origin. Characters who were

not of divine or noble heritage were represented in the most familiar and varied postures. Their bodies were carelessly projected, sometimes in slouching forms, sometimes with legs outstretched, and sometimes as animals slumped upon the earth. Their faces revealed a variety of emotions without restraint. They never displayed the calm poise of more elevated characters, because such display would have been totally incongruous. It was the social attitude, then, that determined the set of figures, and not the esthetic conception of the artist. Nobility was always associated with calmness and restraint. Only individuals not of noble origin could assume the meaner postures that were associated with the commoner.

Time and the River

If there were space to discuss it, a dozen other illustrations of the relationship between art and society could be cited. Before turning back again to the contemporary scene, however, something should be said about Egyptian art in that connection. No other art affords such an illuminating commentary on the influence of the environment on esthetic attitudes and aspirations. In no other country, with the possible exceptions of Babylonia and Assyria, has the presence of a single river played such a decisive part in shaping the entire life of a people. Egypt was, as Herodotus said, "The gift of the river." The Nile determined the nature of the art of Egypt as well as its economics. The mechanical rhythm that characterized its inundations year after year, unfailingly, as if set by a clock wound in an ancient past that would never know a hereafter, timed the very nature of human reaction to a point of unparalleled monotony. The nature of toil was as regular and inevitable as sunfall. What was done was done in harmony with the river. To violate that harmony, and defy the mathematical regularity of the river, meant extinction.

This lack of variation in the life of Egypt disclosed itself in the structure of Egyptian art. The stilted conventions that dominated Egyptian art, with their rigid formality of line, deserted only occasionally, once as an aftermath of the Akhnaton revolt, indicate the extent of this influence. In the construction of the Pyramids this same tendency is manifest. The Pyramids, despite their over-awing sweep and challenging immensity, are simple, monotonous edifices, without the slightest



WPA Art Project

GENIUS AND THE GOV'T: The Federal Art Project has "rescued the artist from desperation." The painting above is by Jared French.

intricacy of line or subtlety of structure. There is nothing experimental or adventurous, nothing fine or ingenious, about them. Only their size arrests. They attest the power of the Egyptian autocracy, nothing more and nothing less. In Abdallatif's saying: "All things fear time, but time itself fears the Pyramids," we have a testimony to the idea that underlay their construction.

But modern art, especially contemporary art, is no less conditioned by such factors: telluric, economic, social, than ancient or medieval art. All art is conditioned by the same factors. To understand the art of any period, therefore, it is necessary to understand the society of which it is a product.

Contemporary art, for instance, is a product in the main of the machine, of a machine-made society, and consequently reflects in its various and multifarious forms, the nature of that influence. In the boom-period, when the machine was producing in Aladdinesque abundance, art raced, as all individualism in every field did, to impossible extremes, making individuality *per se* into its final and futile criterion of value. For a time, as everyone knows, art became as undecipherable as ancient hieroglyphics, the artist determined to

express himself regardless of how much or how little (and usually it was the latter) the public understood him or his work. If he wanted to convey his impressions of a violin, he would usually resort, at least in *The Dial* or *The Little Review*, to depicting it as a horse's neck or a widow in distress, convinced that in so doing, his mother-in-law, at least, would understand the allusion. As a matter of fact, she was usually the only one who did, which is not meant to cast any reflection upon the magazines in question or their art-editors, who thrived by virtue of their inability to understand the *mysteries* of the work they reproduced.

These peculiar, hyper-individualistic artists survived for a while by virtue of the support of the moneyed millions who bought everything in sight so long as their sight continued to be obscured by their millions. It was at this time that Gertrude Stein cashed in on her art friends, and all the art-dealers whose credo was "to be modern or be damned" succeeded in buying country homes in Larchmont or New Rochelle.

Art During the Depression

The coming of the depression, however, altered the situation. The millionaires found that they had less millions, and realized that it was far more pleasant to spend their dwindling funds upon pleasure instead of upon art. The result was that the artists were practically reduced to beggars, and art was in a sorer state than it had possibly ever been before. To some that statement may seem like an exaggeration, but it is not. When artists live in a country like the United States, where art is so far removed from the people, their survival depends in large part upon the financial state of the upper class which purchases their work. That upper class buys art in the main, for reasons extrinsic to the art itself, as a form of conspicuous display, a means of investment value, a source of public approbation. The minute that class finds such luxury impossible, art is one of the first things it discards. It was at this point that the United States Government stepped in, to rescue the artist from the desolation and desperation of his new lot. "American artists faced the prospect of want, idleness, and the inevitable loss of skill," writes Mr. Holger Cahill, the National Director of the Federal Art Project, and then adds: "It became clear that unless the organized com-

munity stepped into the situation, American art would enter a dark age, from which it might not recover for generations. It was to meet this situation that the United States Government established a series of art projects." The result has been, to quote Mr. Cahill again, that "the United States Government has become the greatest art patron in the world."

The Federal Art Project

The Federal Art Project today employs 5,300 artists in its divers activities, which extend from the simple techniques of miniature decoration to the complex necessities of mural design. The Project is based upon the principle "that it is not the solitary genius but a sound general movement which maintains art as a vital, functioning part of any cultural scheme. Art is not a matter of rare, occasional masterpieces. The emphasis upon masterpieces is a nineteenth century phenomenon. It is primarily a collector's idea, and has little relation to an art movement."

The great object of the Federal Art Project is not only to provide a livelihood for artists and to encourage better work on the part of artists, but also to cultivate a greater interest in and love for art, on the part of the American populace. Realizing that the basic problem is to develop an appreciation for art, among the people, the Project has laid as much emphasis upon means and techniques of teaching the populace the importance of art, as it has in cultivating art itself. "The crucial circumstance is not overproduction in art," Mr. Cahill states, "rather it is underconsumption." In order to develop "new publics" for art, the Federal Art Project has opened up experimental galleries in dozens of states, in the South, the Mid-West and the West, where art galleries have never existed before. In some of the galleries opened in Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Oklahoma, North and South Carolinas, the response has been scarcely short of miraculous. Thousands of people who had never visited an art gallery before in their lives, have come to these galleries and have come to understand art as something different, from what they imagined it before. Special efforts have been made by the Federal Art Project, to encourage the work of local or regional artists, and in this endeavor the Project has achieved arresting results. These galleries, featuring often the work of local artists, as well as the work

of important masters, are kept open until nine o'clock in the evening, so that working class people can visit them. All this is done in an effort to arouse a genuine interest in art, on the part of the people. In addition to these experimental galleries, classes in painting, modeling, carving, and weaving have been opened in a number of states, and special classes in these various techniques have been initiated for children, in an even greater number of states. Some of the amazing art products of these children are included in the volume *"New Horizons in American Art,"* which constitutes an excellent survey of the art work produced under the aegis of the Federal Art Project.

The Project has also revealed considerable interest in the past, and in its concern for the history of American Design it is striving to discover something of what, through the centuries, can be called the American tradition. This work carries its students into investigations of the decorative arts: ceramics, glass, silver, pewter, furnitures, costumes, embroidery, textiles, coverlets, toys, weather-vanes, and an amazing number of other fields of suggestive value, in such a study. Undoubtedly, these decorative arts perpetuate a subtle and most significant aspect of American culture. They come closer to what the people have felt, cherished, loved, than the art of the professional painters and sculptors dominant at the time. What the Project is trying to do, and which is most laudable, is to provide reproductions of all such work for art schools, public schools, libraries, colleges and universities, so that the students will be able to profit from the discoveries made in these fields.

Fortunately, the nature of this work has made it possible for a great number of artists to work in their home environment, with local and regional materials, which has been of great value to their immediate communities, many of which, prior to this work, have

been totally barren of such interests. As a matter of fact, local color, local interests, local mores, have been translated into art form, in hundreds of villages, towns and small cities, which never knew that their way of life had such hidden significance. All these interpretations, all these translations of environment into esthetic form, have done a vast deal to awaken an interest in art in this country.

In the Fine Arts aspect of the Project, it is pertinent to note, as evidence of the excellence of the work produced by many of the WPA artists, that a painting by William Godfrey was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in Washington, that three artists have won prizes at the National Academy of Design, four at the Cleveland Museum's Annual Show, three have won Guggenheim Fellowships, one a Fellowship at the MacDowell Colony, and another, James Michael Newell, won the Gold Medal of the Architectural League. In addition, the French Government, so impressed with the work of the Project, has asked that an exhibition of its work be submitted to the forthcoming Exposition.

The significance of the work undertaken by the Federal Art Project can hardly be overestimated. What it is doing, in the form of mural design, to illuminate and beautify buildings of all varieties: schools, sanitariums, hospitals, libraries, is of tremendous value in elevating the esthetic appreciation of the American public. Nothing like it, of similar educational and cultural value, has ever appeared in this country. The fact that all this work is definitely and inalienably allied with contemporaneity, with the "here and now" in its most demonstrable and dramatic aspects, is sufficient proof of its importance as a living reality. The very fact that the Project is primarily concerned, in the larger part of its work, with today, today's artists, today's society, today's people, is sufficient guarantee of its importance as a cultural contribution.



The Realm of Science

IN CHINA, in Africa, in South America, in many another part of the world, are medical scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation, risking their lives to find the way to control diseases that menace the health and happiness of mankind. These men represent the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the five divisions into which this great \$185,000,000 institution is organized.

Public interest in the work of this great organization is intensified today by the recent death of the man whose money made it possible, John D. Rockefeller, Sr. The Rockefeller Foundation was the third of the great philanthropies created by Rockefeller with the aid of his son, John D. Rockefeller Jr., and a group of medical and scientific advisers. First came the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Next came the General Education Board, organized to promote education in the United States. Then came the Rockefeller Foundation.

Today the Foundation is known in every corner of the civilized world and in many a corner not yet civilized. In the field are the medical scientists of its International Health Division fighting yellow fever, malaria, influenza, tuberculosis, hookworm, blood fluke diseases, yaws, and other ailments which threaten mankind. It is not uncommon for representatives of the Division to sit down at an international conference table with the representatives of great sovereign nations.

The aim of this division is the control of disease. As Dr. Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation says, "To control a widespread disease, it is not enough to know how a single case can be cured. Methods must be developed which will turn the disease over to the public health worker, who thinks not in terms of the single individual but in terms of the community. Thus in diseases like hookworm or malaria or yellow fever, the objective is to discover methods of prevention or treatment applicable to great numbers of people. One of the difficulties

about such a program is that existing knowledge is often too inadequate. Unless public health work goes hand in hand with research, it soon bogs down in methods that are outworn and in ideas that are expensive to apply or that do not fit particular localities."

The Foundation operates over the entire world, supplementing its field work with researches at the Laboratories of the International Health Division in New York.

The Jungle Strikes Back

Among the most dramatic—and important—of the enterprises of the International Health Division is its attack upon yellow fever. Many people have the idea that the work of Major Walter Reed in Cuba at the time of the Spanish-American War ended the menace of yellow fever forever.

When Major Reed began his famous investigation, the dreaded "yellow jack" was killing more American soldiers than were the Spanish bullets. He proved that the pretty silver-barred *Stegomyia* mosquito was to blame. It bit victims of the disease and carried the virus to the next healthy person it bit. And so Colonel Gorgas went to work to wipe out the breeding places of the mosquito, first in Cuba, later in Panama. And as a result, yellow fever was eliminated and the Panama Canal built.

And indeed, as the years went by, there was good reason to think that the menace of yellow fever had been ended in the Western Hemisphere and that it would be only a matter of time until it was ended in Africa. In 1925, only three cases of yellow fever were reported in the entire Western Hemisphere. In the eleven months following 1927 there were no cases in this hemisphere at all.

But suddenly, as Dr. Fosdick has said, the South American jungle struck back. The disease broke out again. Today, it is known to be a potential menace to America as well as to Africa.

As Dr. Fosdick says, the *Stegomyia*

mosquito is not the only villain in the piece. There are ways of spreading the disease other than by the mosquito and there are hosts other than man that harbor the virus of the disease. It is known that vast areas of the hinterland of both South America and Africa are endemic centers of yellow fever.

The danger to crowded civilized parts of the world comes from the fact that the *Stegomyia* mosquito, or *Aedes aegypti* mosquito as it is more often called today, is often present. It is prevalent, for example, in large portions of the southern part of the United States. If yellow fever were again introduced into such a region, the mosquitoes would quickly begin to spread it as they once did in Cuba.

Five scientists of the Rockefeller Foundation lost their lives when they became infected with the virus of yellow fever. One of them was the famous Hydeo Noguchi. "Science like war," says Dr. Fosdick, "has its heroes; but they fight for causes that are generally better worth dying for."

But no Rockefeller scientist has contracted yellow fever since 1930 when the Rockefeller laboratory developed a method of vaccination that protects against the disease.

Progress has also been made in methods of identifying the disease and in carrying on work with experimental animals. At first, the work was hampered because no animal would contract the disease. Then it was found that the Rhesus monkey could be infected. This, in turn, led to a technique that made it possible to experiment with white mice, animals which are cheaper and more plentiful.

Fear of Influenza

The Rockefeller scientists are also studying influenza. Since 1918, says Dr. Fosdick, public health officials have contemplated with dread the possibility of another devastating epidemic of influenza such as encompassed the world at that time.

How deadly the epidemic of 1918 was, can be ascertained by turning to the records. America lost 27,789 men from all causes overseas in the World War. Between Sept. 14 and Nov. 10, 1918, influenza killed 82,306 people within the borders of the United States. By the end of the year, the death toll had reached 400,000 and the total number of cases in the nation was estimated at 20,000,000.

Influenza swept over the whole world in three great waves. The first wave, a rather mild one, appeared in May and June 1918. The second, which caused the most deaths, appeared in October and began to wane by December. It was followed by a third wave in March of the following year.

No one has ever succeeded in determining where the outbreak began. The French called it the "Spanish influenza," while Spanish authorities said it began in France. American scientists were inclined to blame eastern Europe while a theory in Europe held that it was brought to the front line trenches by American soldiers drafted from isolated rural communities. It is significant that the disease spread through the allied armies before it broke out in Central Europe.

In 1919, Dr. P. K. Olitsky and F. L. Gates, working at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, succeeded in establishing that the disease was due to a filter-passing virus, that is, an invisible germ so tiny that it could pass through the pores of the finest porcelain filter.

Some ten years later, British scientists succeeded in isolating this virus and in 1935 the same virus was isolated in this country from material sent by the Rockefeller Foundation field force from Puerto Rico. Intensive study of this virus is now going forward in the Laboratories of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York.

The Well-Being of Mankind

The purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation as set forth in its charter is "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." To carry out this command, the Foundation is organized today into five divisions. Only the International Health Division has its own field force and laboratory. The other divisions operate by financing the work of institutions, scholars, and young students who are given fellowships. These four divisions, each under its own director, are devoted to the natural sciences, the medical sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

"A program concerned with the advance of knowledge runs the risk of scattering its resources over too wide a field unless a fairly definite policy of concentration is adopted," Dr. Fosdick says. "Consequently in natural science the Foundation has for several years placed its emphasis largely on experimental

biology; in the social sciences, it has been particularly interested in the problems which relate to social security, international relations, and public administration; its work in the medical sciences has chiefly to do with psychiatry, broadly interpreted; in the humanities, it is working not so much on the content of humanistic studies as on the techniques by which cultural levels are affected, i.e. radio, non-professional drama, museums, libraries, and language problems."

Triumvirate of Psychoanalysis

The death of Dr. Alfred Adler, the famous Viennese psychoanalyst, while on a lecture tour in Scotland, serves to call attention to the great triumvirate of psychoanalysis, Freud, Adler, and Jung. Dr. Sigmund Freud, the founder of the science, now lives in retirement in Vienna at the age of 81. Dr. Carl Jung, Swiss anthropologist and experimental psychologist, was the first convert to the Freudian school, but he later broke away to found a school of his own.

Freud sought to explain the motivation of human conduct upon the basis of sex. It must be remembered, however, that Freud uses the word "sex," in a fashion much broader than is common in ordinary conversation. It has more the general meaning of "love," and perhaps Freud's theories would have been more easily accepted had he used that word. In his attempts to explain human conduct, Freud turned to the past, seeking his clues in infantile sexual wishes. He was particularly concerned with the relations of the child to its parents.

Adler coined the phrase, "inferiority complex." He sought to explain human conduct on the basis of the striving for power or superiority. This striving, he taught, often arose from organic weaknesses. Because of this "over-compensation," the boy with poor eyes became a great artist, the boy with ear trouble, a great musician. Adler looked into the future to explain human behavior. The all-important thing for him was the goal for which the individual was striving. He believed that psychological maladjustment was to be corrected by readjusting the individual's goal.

Jung, perhaps because of his anthropological studies, was impressed with man's relations to the other animals. He taught that man was essentially an animal and that this animal foundation which he called the "racial

unconscious" was the explanation of much human conduct.

It is to Jung that we owe the division of mankind into introverts and extroverts, those whose minds turn within and those whose minds turn to the outer world.

The New Arctic Exploration

The third phase of Arctic exploration begins with the success of the Soviet government in landing a party at the North Pole and leaving them in a semi-permanent camp upon the ice fields to carry on scientific studies of an extended nature.

The first phase of polar exploration consisted of attempts to reach the pole by dog-sled. Triumph attended this first phase when Admiral Robert Edwin Peary planted the American flag upon the North Pole on April 6, 1909. His dash for the Pole, made with the aid of a few companions, began from Grant Land on March 1 and required all of March and the first six days of April.

The second phase was the conquest by air. In May 1926, two expeditions flew over the North Pole. On May 9, 1926, Byrd and Bennett flew an airplane from Spitzbergen to the Pole and back, making the journey of some 1,600 miles in 15½ hours. On May 11, Amundsen, Ellsworth and Nobile set sail from Spitzbergen in a dirigible, the *Norge*, crossing the North Pole and continuing on to Teller, Alaska, a distance of 3,391 miles, in 72 hours.

The scientific world has been waiting for extended polar studies such as the Russians have now embarked upon. They should contribute much to our understanding of meteorology, terrestrial magnetism, geography, and cosmic physics.

A Study of Twins

Dr. H. H. Newmann and his colleagues at the University of Chicago have finished a ten-year study of twins. They studied identical twins, fraternal twins, and identical twins that had been separated in infancy and reared apart. Their purpose was to evaluate heredity and environment.

They conclude that environment plays a definite part in determining human intelligence. They are convinced that environment does more than merely, as the case may be, develop or smother latent or inherited intelligence but that environment helps create intelligence.

DAVID DIETZ

Highlights of the Law

ALTHOUGH the total number of columns of news and comment published in the daily papers on the subject of the Supreme Court falls little short of quantity put forth in connection with the proceedings of some of our more sensational criminal and domestic relations trials, it appears proper for this chronicle to record a summary of events of the October 1936 Term of the Court, which ended June 1 and which has been described as "momentous," "historic" and "unprecedented", as having written *finis* to an era that began at Appomattox, and as presaging an era of social progress never before witnessed in history.

Of course, in a vigorous and free land, we expect to find those who view with alarm the new points of departure settled by the Court, and grumble that the philosophy of Mr. Dooley is in the ascendant, but there are many, including disinterested lawyers, who believe that the Court has now attained the full "stature of the gnarled and unwedgeable oak", and that its intellect is firmly concatenated with the efforts of the people to build a country with elbow room for the pursuit of happiness.

The General Welfare Clause

The section of the Constitution which delineates the powers of Congress begins as follows:

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To Borrow money on the credit of the United States; . . .

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years; . . .

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

It will be noted that the first clause, granting power to lay and collect taxes, is followed by a clause which is either (1) a new grant of power to pay debts and provide for defense and general welfare, or (2) a dependent clause limiting the purposes for which taxes may be collected. The courts have uniformly held it to be the latter, and, while subsequent paragraphs specifically grant the power to create the debt and to provide for defense, there is no specific mandate to provide for the general welfare, and consequently Congress cannot legislate in this field unless the legislation is incident to one of the specified Congressional powers.

Nothing in any of the recent decisions has operated to nullify this principle; on the contrary, it has been reasserted, and certainly any other view would be revolutionary in scope, since Congress would then have no limitation on the objects of its legislation provided only that the proposed law be in the "general welfare." Congress cannot legislate for the general welfare, but it can spend money in aid of it.

Conversely, doubt may be cast upon any enactment which is not in the general welfare, and this may account for the eloquent language of Justice Cardozo in *Chas. C. Steward Machine Co. vs. Davis* (May 24), upholding the unemployment tax of the Social Security Act, where, speaking of the ten to sixteen millions of unemployed during the years "when the country was passing through a cyclical depression", he said: "Disaster to the breadwinner meant disaster to dependents. Accordingly the roll of the unemployed, itself formidable enough, was only a partial roll of the destitute or needy. The fact developed quickly that the states were unable to give the requisite relief. The problem had become national in area and dimensions. There was need of help from the nation if the people were not to starve. It is too late today for the argument to be heard with tolerance that in a crisis so extreme the use of the moneys of the nation to relieve the unemployed and their depend-

ents is a use for any purpose narrower than the promotion of the general welfare."

On the same day, in *Helvering et al. vs. Davis*, upholding the old age benefits provision of the Social Security Act, the same Justice said: "The hope behind this statute is to save men and women from the rigors of the poor house as well as from the haunting fear that such a lot awaits them when journey's end is near."

Social Problems

If it is "unprecedented" in any respect, the last Term of the Court may be said to have decided on more and wider social questions than any previous one. It approved the revised Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Moratorium Act, the Summers-Ashurst Act prohibiting interstate trade in prison made goods. It upheld the Washington minimum wage Law, the Louisiana tax on chain stores, the Virginia milk control law, and the California and Illinois fair trade laws. It released two communist agitators, however, convicted under defective laws of Oregon and Georgia.

Not only did the Court support much State legislation which grappled with social and industrial problems, and insist that cooperative Federal legislation such as the Social Security Act did not invade or coerce the States, but it also strengthened the hand of the Federal Government, ratifying the Government's power in various directions. It reasserted the President's unequivocal control over foreign relations in the Curtiss-Wright case, involving the Chaco neutrality proclamation, and, in the Belmont case, it held that an Executive Agreement such as that made with Soviet Russia is equivalent to a treaty as the supreme law of the land. In upholding the silver profits tax and the gold clause Act, it acknowledged the Federal power over money, and in refusing to order a refund of process taxes collected under the A.A.A. and upholding the tax on dealers in fire arms it held that Federal taxation could have reasonable regulatory objectives as well as revenue and protective purposes.

A Tangled Web

No one who, as the writer did, was able to crowd into the new courtroom on April 12, could come away without a poignant sense of the drama which then and there achieved its climax. Long queues of people pressed against

the entrances and I was glad to find a perch on the marble pediment of a lofty column.

Mr. Justice Roberts proceeded directly to the opinion of the majority in case of *The Associated Press, Petitioner vs. National Labor Relations Board*. He laid down the points one after another, methodically and unemotionally, and gave the decision in favor of the Board. Then, without intermission, Justice Sutherland began to speak from the other end of the bench, reading the opinion of the minority. His theme was "liberty."

Patrick Henry, Cicero, Burke, Hayne or Webster could have done no more by way of *argumentum ad hominem*:

A little water, trickling here and there through a dam, is a small matter in itself; but it may be a sinister menace to the security of the dam, which those living in the valley below will do well to heed.

The destruction or abridgement of a free press—which constitutes one of the most dependable avenues through which information of public or governmental activities may be transmitted to the people—would be an event so evil in its consequences that the least approach toward that end should be halted at the threshold. . . .

Freedom is not a mere intellectual abstraction; and it is not merely a word to adorn an oration upon occasions of patriotic rejoicing. It is an intensely practical reality, capable of concrete enjoyment in a multitude of ways day by day. When applied to the press, the term freedom is not to be narrowly confined; and it obviously means more than publication and circulations. If freedom of the press does not include the right to adopt and pursue a policy without governmental restriction, it is a misnomer to call it freedom. And we may as well deny at once the right of the press freely to adopt a policy and pursue it, as to concede that right and deny the liberty to exercise an uncensored judgment in respect of the employment and discharge of the agents through whom the policy is to be effectuated.

In a matter of such concern, the judgment of Congress—or, still less, the judgment of an administrative censor—cannot, under the Constitution, be substituted for that of the press management in respect of the employment or discharge of employees engaged in editorial work. The good which might come to interstate commerce or the benefit which might result to a special group, however large, must give way to that higher good of all the people so plainly contemplated by the imperative requirement that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press." . . .

Listening to these colorful periods, one began to forget the businesslike statements of

Justice Roberts a few minutes before, and one could scarcely resist the final appeal:

Do the people of this land—in the providence of God, favored, as they sometimes boast, above all others in the plenitude of their liberties—desire to preserve those so carefully protected by the First Amendment: liberty of religious worship, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of freemen peaceably to assemble and petition their government for a redress of grievances? If so, let them withstand all beginnings of encroachment. For the saddest epitaph which can be carved in the memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while yet there was time.

The palpitating echoes of these last phrases were still coursing through the minds of the silent auditors when the majestic Chief Justice began reading the majority opinion in the appeal of the *National Labor Relations Board, Petitioner, vs. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation*. In matter of fact language he began what seemed to be an interminable relation of many different mills, refineries, plants and subsidiaries of the respondent corporation, spotting them over the map of the whole country, and over the line into Canada, to show that labor trouble in any one of the numerous factories, mines, rail lines, vessels, quarries, warehouses, ore dumps, and offices of this far-flung steel empire would constitute a burden on interstate commerce or the free flow of interstate commerce, and therefore was within the Federal power to regulate. "The steel industry is one of the great basic industries of the United States, with ramifying activities affecting interstate commerce at every point. The Government aptly refers to the steel strike of 1919-1920 with its far-reaching consequences. The fact that there appears to have been no major disturbances in that industry in the more recent period did not dis-

pose of the possibilities of future and like dangers to interstate commerce which Congress was entitled to foresee and to exercise its protective power to forestall. It is not necessary again to detail the facts as to respondent's enterprise. Instead of being beyond the pale, we think it presents in a most striking way the close and intimate relation which a manufacturing industry may have to interstate commerce and we have no doubt that Congress had constitutional authority to safeguard the right of respondent's employees to self-organization and freedom in the choice of representatives for collective bargaining." Answering these triumphant words proclaiming the birth of a new era, the reasoned views of the dissenting Justices recall nothing so much as the arguments of Jefferson Davis in *The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*.

Withal, the Supreme Court closed the Term with still more of the same type of problems on its docket, and the arguments will go on again in October. The complexion of the Court will have been altered, however, by the absence of Justice Van Devanter, who retired on full pay after more than twenty-six years' service. Of 1,052 cases filed during the Term, the Court refused to consider 671, heard argument and rendered decision in 271 and will carry over to the next Term the remaining 110. Although this group of 671 undoubtedly contained many instances of poignant disappointment, including cases of persons convicted and sentenced to death or long imprisonment, the despatch with which the 271 cases, most of which were complicated and important in extreme, speaks well for the efficiency of the Court, as at present constituted. There is much in the argument, however, that our country has become so great that improved judicial facilities are no longer merely desirable, but are imperative.

GUERRA EVERETT

On the Religious Horizon

THE question of Church unity is one which is occupying more and more the thought and consideration of Christians throughout the world. Reports of concerted action on the part of different denominational groups on an ever-widening scale indicate that the churches are realizing more clearly than ever before that their world mission will never be accomplished unless they can act as "the Church," whatever the distinctive or descriptive title may be. A survey of the international and "world" conferences to be held this summer records an all-time high for such events.

Heading the imposing list are the two "World Conferences" to be held in the British Isles: during July at Oxford the World Conference on Church, Community and State (of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work), and during August at Edinburgh, the World Conference on Faith and Order.

All of Christendom will be represented at these two conferences, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Communion, and it is reported that even they will have "unofficial observers" at Edinburgh.

The scope of the Oxford Conference is evident from its title. The World Conference on Faith and Order, meeting at Edinburgh, will seek to discover common bases of doctrine and practice which will make possible a greater degree of Church Unity. Preparations for this conference have been in progress for ten years. Continuation Committees for the various countries to be represented have made thorough surveys of the difficulties that lie in the way as well as the possible avenues of approach. This meeting (as is also the case with the Oxford Convention on Church, Community and State) of the many continuation committees will therefore begin where most conferences leave off, and will "fathom more."

The 21st International Anti-Alcohol Congress, which meets in Warsaw from Sept. 12 to 17, will be preceded by special religious services in the Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Churches. Medical, pedagogical, and social sections of the Congress will

study their respective aspects of the alcohol problem, after their general presentation by Polish members of the Congress, Poland having been particularly active in the last two years in research work in laboratories and institutes of hygiene.

The World Conference for International Peace through Religion will meet in Geneva in September, the meeting being prepared by the Church Peace Union (Dr. H. A. Atkinson, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City).

The World's Sunday School Association will open an office this summer in the building at Geneva occupied by the League of Nations prior to its removal to its new and permanent headquarters, according to the Lutheran Church News Bulletin. The edifice will now be known as "Palais Wilson." Some sixty international organizations, six or seven being religious bodies, will have offices there. The World's Sunday School Association will represent a force of some 40,000,000 Sunday School scholars and workers, a fact of vital significance in view of its avowed purpose to develop a definite "Peace Education" of the coming generation. Dr. Adolph Keller will be in charge of the office.

These are but a few of the many evidences of a real oecumenical movement which is spreading throughout the world. Each year sees further steps, leading unmistakably toward ultimate Church unity. Men, or groups of men organized into churches, cannot long meet together and work together without achieving a sense of "togetherness," which, fundamentally, is what oecumenical means. As these representatives continue to develop this cooperative activity, they find a community of interest, similarity of purpose and method, and they come to admire and respect the ideals as well as the personalities of their co-workers. Mutual understanding begets an attitude which minimizes differences and emphasizes essential points in common. This is probably of greater consequence toward the achievement of the ultimate goal than even the findings of the various committees and

commissions.

As a result of such an informal conference of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders at the Rhode Island College of Education, the State director of education is to appoint a commission to study the possibilities of introducing religious instruction in all the schools of the state. At the dedication exercises of a new educational building of the Lutheran Church of the Good Shepherd of Brooklyn, N. Y., Dr. Charles Trexler said of education:

"Method is important, but the objective, which is character must receive still greater emphasis. This is the responsibility of the Church in a nation constituted as is our United States. . . . Instruction in the Sunday School with its limited and casual attendance is not enough. A thorough, well-planned system of conscientious religious instruction on weekdays as well as on Sundays will go far in developing the character which our young people need so greatly in meeting and overcoming the intricacies of modern life."

Nazis and Catholicism

The very insistence by the Roman Catholic Church in Germany of its right and duty to supervise the education of its youth has caused the Nazi officials to press the war it is waging against the Church. The contest in Germany is over the question of whether there can be any loyalty greater than, or even other than, loyalty to the nation. While it is true that the Nazis are seeking to develop a new "German Church," the fight is not one between Christianity and some other Church,—but between Christianity and National Socialism (which at the moment is employing a type of neo-pagan religion in its efforts to draw adherents from the churches). The highlight of the month was the speech delivered by Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, in which he charged that the trials of German monks and friars on immorality charges had been staged as anti-Catholic propaganda, designed to discredit parochial education. He referred to Chancellor Hitler as "an Austrian paper-hanger and a poor one at that."

The German press, needless to say, was not slow in answering the Cardinal Archbishop's charges with counter charges and recriminations. The climax of this rebuttal was reached in the meeting on May 28 of 20,000 National Socialists in Deutschland Hall, Ber-

lin, addressed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda. Although most of his speech dealt with the Roman Catholic Church and its responsibility for the immorality trials of monks and lay brothers, Dr. Goebbels issued a challenge that Catholicism and Protestantism alike can neither overlook nor misunderstand. He quoted Napoleon's threat to close the monasteries and expel monks and Jesuits from France as a warning that a similar fate is possible in Germany. Referring to the Protestant Church, the Propaganda Minister said: "The German people is thoroughly tired of this hair-splitting. Because of our confessional differences we fought the Thirty Years War. This war cost us the mastery of the world. It cost us possessions such as Great Britain secured." He asserted that the Churches (Protestant) of today in Germany are centers of disunity in the German nation. Speaking of the association of both confessions with the foreign press, he said: "Such newspapers [filled with hostile reports of supposed religious persecution] are not carrying these reports for religious reasons, but because they hope to disunite the German nation. Priests and Pastors furnish them with material. This is nothing less than high treason."

The immorality charges and trials must have some basis of fact. "Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire." This writer agrees with the Rev. Dr. Van Kirk, radio commentator of *Religion in the News* that if and when an individual is proven guilty of sexual immorality, he ought to be punished to the extent of the law. There is danger, however, that the real issue at stake may be overlooked. The National Socialist Government is striving with every weapon at its disposal to weld a united "totalitarian" state. To accomplish this end it is necessary that it gain control of the education of its youth. It is apparent that the Nazis will leave no stone unturned to accomplish this end.

German Priests Consider Marriage

In addition to this, Herr Hitler, Goebbels, *et al* are vitally concerned, not only in the birth rate, but also in the mental and physical qualifications of German parents. Quite a sizeable number of its best men and women, mentally and physically, are constantly being recruited into the ranks of monks, nuns, friars, and lay-brothers. Leading celibate lives, these

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otherwise excellent "prospective parents" lower both the birth rate and the intellectual and physical average of the new generation. It is probably in view of this consideration that a group, numbering at least one hundred, of German priests have formed an organization whose avowed purpose is to obtain the consent of the Pope for them to marry. Perhaps the move is a wise one. Perhaps not. The Church's experience in Mexico, where the populace and the Government insisted that all priests be both native-born and married, may be in the minds of these German Priests, who express no desire or intention to withdraw from the Roman Catholic Church.

(The Uniat Churches have, since their return to the Roman fold during the 16th and 17th centuries, been permitted to have married clergy. Married priests are not without precedent. In fact, a celibate clergy was not universally achieved, even theoretically by canon law, until the first Lateran Council of 1123. It may be that we are witnessing the opening phases of a renewal of that argument which dragged out over the first sixteen centuries of Christianity before it was finally possible to enforce it in the Roman branch of the Catholic Church.)

The test of the Catholic position is likely to come on Sunday, June 6, which has been named Catholic Youth Day by the German Bishops. The Catholic youth will be urged to enter the Catholic Youth organization, contrary to the clearly expressed desire of the Government that the Catholic Youth organization be suppressed in the interests of the Hitler Youth, in which membership is compulsory.

And so the warfare against the Churches in Germany goes on apace. Jew, Catholic, and Protestant alike are realizing more clearly each day how deadly in earnest the National Socialists are in their efforts to win the undivided allegiance of the whole German nation, soul, mind, and body. The paradox of "gross immorality" in the midst of (supposed) piety can no longer be tolerated. Dr. Goebbels in effect threatened to obviate this paradox by eliminating the piety.

A Religious Sit-Down Strike

An Associated Press dispatch from Nogales, Sonora, Mexico, May 31, tells of the results achieved by a Mexican religious version of

the American "sit-down strike." More than a hundred worshipers broke into the Nogales Cathedral and refused to leave the pews. Three days elapsed (May 28 to May 31). Federal authorities in Mexico, D. F. instructed border officials to return the Cathedral to the possession of the parishioners. *The Nogales Herald* reported that churches throughout Sonora had been reopened on the same basis as the Nogales Cathedral.

The general Church-State situation in Mexico, however, remains unchanged. This in spite of the decision of the Mexican Supreme Court on May 5 that the religious law of the State of Chihuahua, permitting only one priest in the entire State, to be unconstitutional. Only in the States of San Luis Potosi and Sonora and in Mexico City may masses be celebrated in most of the churches. The State of Campeche, like Tabasco, imposes the rule that priests must be married. But one priest is permitted in the whole State of Chiapas. Church services and sacramental rites are effectively denied to the people in most of the other States through limitation of the number of priests to one for each 80,000 inhabitants.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, and representing the foreign missions boards of 29 denominations (Protestant) describes the outlook for Protestant religion in Mexico as "most encouraging."

Speaking before the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Inman said: "From the standpoint of evangelical Christianity, we have one of the most encouraging outlooks in the world today in Mexico. If the Church is willing to stand for its faith it will come out victorious."

The Georgian Church became a State Church in 337 and is this year celebrating its sixteen-hundredth anniversary. It is not easy to see how this will be possible. Like other churches within the Soviet Union, the Church of Georgia has been persecuted and her leaders have been killed or deported. Church buildings have been sacrilegied and destroyed. It continues to be difficult to determine just how much of the "religious" news emanating from Russia is to be believed. We know that religious liberty is guaranteed under the new Constitution but public religious training of children is forbidden, and anti-religious propaganda is authorized.

A DIGEST OF COMMENT QUOTED OR TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL

THEY SAY

SOMETIMES IMPORTANT ★ OFTEN AMUSING ★ ALWAYS AUTHENTIC

Febrile Warriors

G——, a driver in the convoy of the Unit to which I managed to attach myself from Barcelona to Valencia, was formerly a cellist in a Corner House orchestra. Fat, frank, spectacled and intelligent, he had learned to drive a lorry on the day of his arrival in Barcelona: he drove with too much concentration, leaning over the wheel to fix his attention short-sightedly on the road. In a moment of emotion, when we were driving along the moonlit coastal road between Tarragona and Tortosa, he told me that he had only wept three times in his life: once, at the Wembley Tattoo when the whole crowd was hysterical with imperialist fervour, and looking round he had a sudden vision of what it all meant and was leading to; once, when after playing musical trash for months in the restaurant, he went to Sadler's Wells, and hearing *Figaro* performed, realised what music might be and what the standards were by which he earned his living; once, that very morning in Barcelona, when he realised, as he put it, that "the people in this town know they are free."

All the time I was in Spain I remembered these three occasions on which G—— had wept; they seem to me a monument of personal honesty, of the spirit in which the best men have joined the International Brigade. I believe that at certain moments in history a few people—usually unknown ones—are able to live not for themselves but for a principle. One man goes out to Spain because his dislike of the Corner House orchestra and his love of Mozart suddenly becomes a rule of action with which his own life is identified. A young girl, who happens to be an Anglo-Catholic, and who is politically ignorant, goes out to nurse the wounded because she wishes to alleviate human suffering. Her patients, as soon as they are convalescent, bully her for her lack of "ideology," and she suffers far more than they are able to imagine. * * *

The attitude of the Spanish people to members of the International Brigade is a good test of their fundamental agreement. In the first place, propaganda about the Brigade has perhaps not been handled as tactfully as it might have been. For example, the battle of Morata was a turning point in the war because the Spanish troops rallied instead of fleeing at a critical moment. When I went along the lines at Morata, in March, I found that the Spanish Lister battalion was entrenched in positions nearer the enemy lines than any trenches of the Brigade. Yet almost all the credit for Morata has gone to the Brigade. Again, quite apart from the decisive action of the Republican Air Force, which is now 90 per cent Spanish, Spanish troops fought courageously at Guadalajara, yet all the glory went to the Italian Garibaldi battalion.

Tactless propaganda about the International Brigade might appear humiliating to the Spanish people, so it is sometimes suggested that the Brigade is rather resented in Spain. Yet during my six weeks of travelling in Spain I was almost invariably mistaken for a member of the Brigade and treated with extraordinary generosity on that account. Again, it is suggested that the Anarchists are afraid of what the Brigade may do after the war is won. But in practice, Anarchists and members of the Brigade work and fight side by side and the boundaries between political movements are broken down at the front. * * *

At first the war strengthened and unified the social revolution, but in the long run war demands its own measures which threaten to engulf the whole social system. I set beside the story of G——, the lorry driver, the story of H——, a member of the International Brigade, who first came out as correspondent for one of the most reactionary English newspapers. H—— fought in the battle of Morata, where there were four



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YOU CAN'T WIN

hundred casualties in three days out of a battalion of six hundred men. The worst part of this battle was fought without trenches or other protection, except olive trees, in hilly country amongst the fields and olive groves. On the first day of the battle a friend of H—— died of a stomach wound, bleeding to death. H—— stayed by him, under fire, until he died. That night H—— disturbed his comrades, who were trying to sleep, by walking along the lines shouting out that he was thirsty and must have water. . . . The next morning he happened to be fighting next to a friend of mine in the olive grove. He said repeatedly to my friend: "You see that wall over there? How far do you think it is?" My friend answered, "One hundred yards." "Well, you take a range of 120 and I'll try one of 100," etc. . . . That evening he appeared in the lines holding a bundle of telegraph wires which he waved above his head. He said, "Look, I've cut Franco's communications." He had gone mad.

I tell this story in order to counteract the propaganda about heroes in wars. The final horror of war is the complete isolation of a man dying alone in a world whose reality is violence. The dead in wars are not heroes: they are freezing or rotting lumps of isolated insanity.

People try to escape from a realisation of the violence to which abstract ideas and high ideals have led them by saying either that individuals do not matter or else that the dead are heroes. It may be true that at certain times the lives of individuals are unimportant in relation to the whole of future history—although the violent death of many

individuals may modify the consciousness of a whole generation as much as a work of art or a philosophical treatise. But to say that those who happen to be killed are heroes is a wicked attempt to identify the dead with the abstract ideas which have brought them to the front, thus adding prestige to those ideas, which are used to lead the living on to similar "heroic" deaths.

Perhaps soldiers suspect this, for they do not like heroic propaganda. When I was at the Morata Front several men complained of the heroics in Left-wing papers. Some praised very highly the report of the battle of Morata, written by Philip Jordan, which appeared in the *News Chronicle*; but they complained that even that, restrained as it was, was too heroic. I had the impression that soldiers in a war have an almost pathetic longing to know the truth.

—Stephen Spender in *The New Statesman And Nation*.

JESUS AND THE GERMANS

I doubt if modern history can show an odder controversy than the row now going on between *Der Stürmer* and *Siegrune*, the militant organ of the "new German faith." (The whole story is told in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of the most useful sources of information about Germany.) Both papers are insanely anti-semitic, but they quarrel about Christianity, which is described in a special number of *Der Stürmer* as an anti-semitic world movement of heroic proportions. The Crucifixion, according to *Der Stürmer*, was the first "ritual murder." *Siegrune* replied, also in a special number, urging that *Der Stürmer* had forgotten St. Paul and got Jesus Christ all wrong. It referred to his "various adventures" in the years when he was "sowing his wild oats," and deduces his "Jewish cowardice" from the fact that our first knowledge of him shows him escaping from possible danger. *Siegrune* went on to explain the Sermon on the Mount as a series of confused maxims designed to upset the minds of simple people—they uprooted the disciples from their proper job of fishing and seduced an official from his post. At the marriage at Cana Christ spoke to his mother with an insolence that "German youth will do well not to make their model." He "coarsely offended the majesty of death" and threw the money-changers out of the temple in a way after the manner of a "Bolshevik mob" in a church. This remarkable issue of the *Siegrune* carries a picture of Ludendorff, in uniform, with the caption "This man too fights against Pharisees and theologians among his own people, unacknowledged, blasphemed and dispised." I am not sure whether that is a hit at Christ or Hitler. But clearly a ruling is needed from the Führer. Is Jesus to be regarded as a sub-human Jew or was he an Aryan foully murdered by the Jews?

—*The New Statesman And Nation*, London.

Good Earth vs. New Earth

THE *Osaka Mainichi* published an 8-page illustrated supplement devoted largely to the Japan-German military pact, but one of the most interesting features of the supplement was a description of a new propaganda film now being produced in Japan under German auspices. The title of the film is "New Earth," which immediately brings the suggestion that it is a German-Japanese attempt to counter the Sino-American production "Good Earth," dramatization of Pearl Buck's famous novel of Chinese life which is now being shown in the United States and copies of which are now in the hands of the Nanking censors prior to exhibition here.

The German-Japanese film "New Earth," judging from the description, is designed to be a powerful piece of German-Japanese-Manchukuo propaganda, symbolizing the recently concluded Nippon-Nazi military alliance against Russia (and China?). "Never before," declared the writer of the article in the *Mainichi*, "has there been produced in Japan a picture on such gigantic scale or turned out at such huge cost or with such a large amount of foreign assistance." Dr. Arnold Fanck, well known German film director, and a large staff of assistants have been in Japan for more than a year and in that period have used up 470,400 feet of film and have expended 700,000 Yen, ten times the cost of the most expensive picture previously produced in Japan.

The services of 9,123 people were required to produce the picture and some 50 different sets were built, the locations including Mount Fuji, volcanoes Aso, Asama, Yatetake, picturesque Kamikochi mountain region, ancient capital region about Kyoto, Nara, Tokyo, commercial metropolis of Osaka, Lake Biwa region, Kamakura and the various shrines. The following is a brief summary of the plot:

The hero, an adopted son, returns to his native land after 8 years spent abroad. Western civilization having become part of his life, he finds himself in the midst of a bitter struggle within his heart when he renews acquaintanceship with Japan. . . . The picture which unfolds the soul of Old Nippon against the setting of New Japan is climaxed when the battle is won and he prevents his pretty bride-to-be from leaping into a burning crater in traditional Japanese suicide setting. . . . The spirit of Old Nippon then returns to his heart and the two decide to become pioneers in the "new earth" (empire) of Manchukuo.

While the film "New Earth" constitutes a major propaganda effort to cement the relations of Germany-Japan-Manchukuo, the Japanese also intend to use it in connection with their domestic campaign to induce Japanese to migrate to the puppet state. Furthermore they intend to exhibit the picture in the foreign concessions in China and in

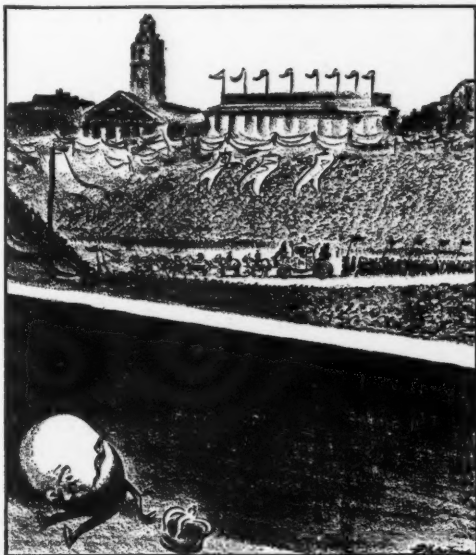
North China and in Manchukuo as an offset to the Chinese film "Good Earth," which was made under Chinese advisory supervision in Hollywood.

Although the production of the German-directed "New Earth" film apparently has been successful, the same cannot be said regarding another propaganda film called "Modern Japan" upon which the Foreign Office has expended considerable time, effort and money. Several months ago someone suggested that the Foreign Office should produce a film for exhibition in some 30 foreign countries which would provide a favorable advertisement of modern Japan. While the picture was financed from government funds it was to be distributed through the so-called "International Cultural Relations Bureau," in coöperation with Japanese diplomatic and consular officials abroad. Ken Yanagisawa, chief of the "cultural enterprises" department of the Foreign Office, had charge of the production.

—China Weekly Review.

CONTAMINATED ITALIANS

The Germans appear very wisely to have withdrawn from the Spanish adventure. They will not risk enough men to win the war for Franco, for they realize that they would be needed in Spain long after the fighting was over. Their armaments have proved, in several respects, so unsatisfactory that they must start all over again. They have no



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"ALL THE KING'S HORSES AND ALL THE KING'S MEN—"



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BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

further time or inclination to fight a war for Italy's benefit. As for Italy, it has been made very clear to Signor Mussolini that France, and to a lesser extent Great Britain, can no longer tolerate grave breaches of the Non-Intervention Agreement, however hesitating they have been in the past. The risk of breaking it openly has now become so great that Signor Mussolini, courageous man though he be, is not likely to take it.

The foreign "volunteers" on the spot will probably not be withdrawn. Indeed, one problem which must be exercising the mind of the Duce is what he will do ultimately with the Italian survivors of his expeditionary force in Spain. Nobody can gauge the importance of anti-Fascist propaganda on these young men, many of whom enlisted in the belief that they were to go to Abyssinia, and all of whom are hearing for the first time criticism of a regime which has not been criticised in their presence since its installation in 1922.

The Spanish Government has special guns on the front that fire, not shells, but propaganda—which may be even more dangerous. It would hurt less to be hit on the head by a heavy wad of speeches than by a piece of hard steel, but those who escape the missiles pick them up and read them, and are far more disposed to take them seriously than are we, who find propagandist pamphlets in our letter-boxes.

There have been so many sufferers in this brutal civil war that it may seem invidious to select any particular category for sympathy. But one should spare a little of it for these young Italians fighting

in strange conditions in a quarrel which is not their own, and in a country which so many of them had never intended to visit. One doubts whether the Duce will allow them for years to return to their native land, for they may have been "contaminated" by their captured comrades who have taken part, willingly or unwillingly, in the propaganda campaign by blaring appeals to surrender through the loud speakers put up in the trenches. The best that these young men can hope for is that when this war is over they will at last reach their destination in Abyssinia, and be allowed to return from it in a few years, when the Spanish war is forgotten or forgiven.

The Italian defeat on the Guadalajara front was not of great military importance. But, politically, it may be decisive, for it has undoubtedly increased the resentment felt by the Spaniards on General Franco's side against the foreigners on whom they have to depend in their civil war. The relations between the foreigners and the Spaniards, and between the Italians and the Germans, cannot have been improved by the Guadalajara battle. On the other hand, the encouragement given to the citizen army in Madrid by this one victory is out of all proportion to the amount of ground gained or prisoners captured.

—Vernon Bartlett in the *World Review*.

THE GREEN FRONTIER

It is the most curious frontier imaginable. No international commission made the survey, giving here and taking there. Brute force divided the land. Where the troops stood when the armistice between Poland and Lithuania was signed, that is the frontier. No matter if the border divided a man's land or forest. This armistice has now lasted for seventeen years, and has never been followed up by a peace treaty.

The armies of the two nations are still there, waiting to fall on each other should some provocative incident take place. They call it the "Green Frontier," for there is a stretch of no man's land between the two lines, overgrown with weeds and brushwood during these long years.

We had to be careful not to photograph outside our sector. It would have been asking for trouble to have put up tripods and cameras in sight of patrols who knew nothing of our permits. Bullets are rather loose in the barrel on both sides. We were still on the Lithuanian side, shepherd by our Commander. Then we saw a strange sight which brought a lump to our throats. A woman with a small child approached one of the barriers barring the unused road. From the Polish side, also, two women came as far as they dared, about fifty yards from our side. They started to shout to each other and wave. The child started to run towards the women on the other side, but was stopped by one of the frontier guards. It was as if they were worlds apart; members of one family,

divided by a cruel political fate. The Lithuanians could not enter Poland and the others, having become Polish whether they liked it or not, could never hope to enter Lithuania. The more wealthy can meet their loved ones on neutral ground, usually in Latvia. Both parties may only live a few hundred yards apart, but if the "Green Frontier" divides them they have to travel many hundreds of miles to a neutral country to shake each other by the hand. Of course, most of them can't afford such a luxury. We were fortunate enough to capture this scene with our cameras and it touched us deeply.

—Hans Nieter in the *World Review*.

SPIES AT WORK

The activity of the intelligence service of a certain Far Eastern power is characterized by its elaborate preparation of every aggressive move of Japanese policy. This is shown, once again, by the intense, impudent and often barefaced activities of this intelligence service against China, the Soviet Union and the United States. Intelligence work is conducted not only by military but also by civil departments.

Officially the intelligence services of different departments are independent and their activities are uncoordinated. Actually they are all under the direction of the intelligence department of the general staff. This has, of course, great advantages in the sense of a fuller utilization of all possibilities, forces and means against the countries subject to aggression. On the other hand it concentrates in the hands of the general staff a colossal power over all other departments of the Government, a power that it may easily abuse. And we know that Japanese militarism is inclined to do so.

In Japanese novels depicting Japanese wars of the past and future, Japanese spies and diversionists invariably occupy a prominent part. They are shown as blowing up the Panama canal, fomenting insurrections, etc. The population of Japan has long been trained to esteem espionage. Even at present advertisements often appear in the Japanese press in which the police state that "they are glad to receive secret information from Japanese subjects."

Some foreign observers assert that no Japanese subject can legally leave the country without pledging himself to become a secret agent of one or another of the intelligence services. Apparently there is a great deal of truth in these assertions.

The authorities of that country assert categorically that their official institutions and representatives abroad are not interested in espionage. To demonstrate the falsity of these official pronouncements we offer certain facts on the espionage activities of diplomats of all ranks.

Thus, in its time, the Tsarist secret police has proved documentally that, before the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese consul in Odessa maintained a network of spies embracing Turkey,



Daily Herald, London

ABYSSINIAN CHERUBS (to child victims of *Guernica*): "Golly, white children, am the white Christians civilizing you, too!"

Persia, Bulgaria, Serbia and the Caucasus. The attempt on Prince Golitzin, Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus, was made known to that consul thru his agents twenty-four hours before the official announcement.

In 1902-1904 the Japanese military attaché in Berlin obtained thru his agents several secret documents pertaining to the colonial policy of Germany. Copies of these documents were given to the British by the Japanese Government.

In the twenties, the Japanese general staff sought to reestablish thru the ministry of Foreign Affairs its old espionage friendship with Poland dating from the Russo-Japanese war. At that time Pilsudsky did espionage work against Russia under the direction of the Japanese intelligence service.

In February 1924, a group of spies was arrested in Vladivostok including several officers of a certain consulate—Gunzi, Haruda and Ossakabe.

The former Japanese premier Hirota recently related in a newspaper interview his activities as a spy in Korea and Manchuria when he first entered the Foreign Service in 1904.

This far from complete list of the spying activities of official representatives gives us every right to say that the basic centers that organize and direct the spying activities of a certain power in other states are diplomatic institutions in general, and naval and military attachés in particular.

—*Izvestia, Moscow*.

GERMAN PLANS

For all his fanaticism Hitler is not entirely without a sense of reality. He realizes he is not in a position to kill in one fell swoop the whole of the Versailles Treaty and give Germany back her



Birmingham Gazette

PRIVATE VIEW DAY**This year's problem picture. Problem: Who was the Artist?**

pre-war frontiers. He has applied himself to this task with a certain gradualness, taking the line of least resistance. He realises that the old Polish-German frontier cannot be restored without a war. Germany is not yet in position to fight Poland because of the latter's alliance with France and because of Article 16 of the League Covenant. That is why Hitler began by destroying the clauses of Versailles which forbade Germany's becoming, for purposes of revenge, a military and naval power. There was almost no risk for him in tearing up these clauses. There was a certain risk when he decided to remilitarize the Rhineland in order to prevent, or at any rate delay, France's coming to the aid of Poland, her eastern ally. Finally, he is trying to weaken and destroy the Franco-Polish alliance by the conclusion of a new Locarno; he is trying to undermine the League of Nations, or at any rate, Article 16. Having thus consolidated his position, and with his rear protected by the Polish-German pact, Hitler will probably try to seize Austria and Czechoslovakia, after making the Balkan States and Hungary his minions. After which he will be able to proceed without danger to the abolition of the rest of the Versailles Treaty relating to the East, without bothering whether the ten-year period, provided for in the Polish-German Pact, has elapsed or not.

It is thus clear that the Polish-German Pact is not an instrument of peace but one which strengthens Germany's aggressive plans. What does Poland get out of it? A temporary peace of ten years or less? But this peace would be surer were Germany

disarmed, forced to observe the Versailles Treaty and threatened by France in case of an attack on Poland.

—*Le Journal de Moscou*, Moscow.

THE REDS AGAIN

Neither the so-called Reds of Señor Caballero nor the so-called Nationalists of General Franco are likely in the long run to tolerate in perpetuity the foreign influences now pressing upon them. The Reds in essence are anarchist and disruptive of the social order rather than bolshevist in the Russian sense. They are composed of different sections fighting against the same enemy but for different ends. If they win it seems likely that Spain will be split into several regional independent entities. Russian influence would not be likely long to survive such an outcome. General Franco for his part, fighting in theory for a unified Spain, has shown that in the event of success he would no more tolerate Italian or German influence than Señor Caballero would tolerate Russian influence. When he decided in the middle of March to halt his operations pending an improvement in the weather and the Italian forces, differing in temperament and mistaking General Franco's temperament, insisted on advancing by themselves, their discomfiture was due as much to Franco sabotage behind their lines as to Caballero counter-attacks from in front. The British Government throughout has sternly followed the policy of true disinterestedness, a policy which seems to be justified

twice over by the now apparent fact that neither side in Spain seems likely to attain a decisive victory. The prospect rather unfolds itself of a long-drawn-out indecisive guerilla war on the true Spanish model. But so far as public opinion is concerned even in Great Britain, it seems impossible to prevent the warm-hearted people from taking sides in the most violent spirit. Newspapers of the Left do not conceal their glee over what the superior news service of the Reds succeeds as featuring as Red victories, and newspapers of the Right equally believe that Franco embodies everything good in human nature. The Comintern is unrivalled as a propagandist organization. Its particular service to Señor Caballero has been the establishment of a first-rate news service. Foreign correspondents are encouraged to visit the front lines and are given good telegraphic and telephonic facilities. General Franco despises such things. No correspondent is allowed to visit his front lines. Telegrams are charged at excessive rates. A letter was published in *The Times* of April 2nd from Sir Walter Maxwell-Scott of Abbotsford, who had made a three weeks' tour of Western Spain. In it he showed that the rival news services published in the British papers on Monday, but the Nationalist version not till Tuesday or even Wednesday. His letter itself threw valuable light on the less well-known facts of Franco Spain.

—George Glasgow in *The Contemporary Review*, London.

ITALIAN SUCCESS

We are faced with a pact of friendship which contains no clause relating to political collaboration abroad, and no provisions for mutual assistance, so if we consider the pact by itself there is nothing in it to give rise to anxiety.

From another point of view we are forced to admit that Mussolini, absorbed as he is by Spanish affairs and by the organization of Abyssinia, is following none the less resolutely his plan of Mediterranean expansion. The conclusion of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Britain, the Milan conversations of Count Ciano with M. Rustu Aras, the Turkish Foreign Minister, the Duce's journey to Libya, the conclusion of this latest pact—all these events are so many steps towards the hegemony which Mussolini wishes to exercise in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Perhaps Rome would have been less eager to conclude the agreement if the necessity had not arisen, after the unfortunate Guadalajara battles, to re-assert in a striking manner the prestige of its regime. To be convinced of this, you only need to glance at the Italian press and see the way that the new agreement is heralded as a magnificent success of fascist diplomacy.

A success? Possibly. It is too early to say that. So far we know what Rome has agreed to, that she accepts the territorial *status quo* in the Medi-

terranean, and renounces all intention of favouring and harbouring Croat agitators.

And Yugoslavia? It is difficult to see what contribution she makes to the agreement, except the promise not to make war on Italy. Our Yugoslav friends are peace-loving, and a promise to respect their frontiers is enough to satisfy them.

As for ourselves, our relations with Belgrade are not affected by the new agreement. Our friendship with the Yugoslavs is of too long standing, it was forged too firmly, to be at the mercy of any wind that blows.

—*L'Homme Libre*, Paris.

MUSSOLINI'S LINE

Mussolini has decided to take the line of greatest resistance. Intoxicated by his victories in Abyssinia, and relying on the support of his temporary ally, Hitler, Mussolini dreams of establishing his supremacy in the Mediterranean and even of competing with Great Britain. A master of bluff and threatening gestures, he is trying to compel Great Britain at least to recognize Italy as an equal and not to hinder the realization of some of her designs. It is for this reason that Mussolini, having failed to make an agreement with Primo de Rivera, has decided to install himself in Spain where, together with Herr Hitler, he has provoked a civil war and where he is now trying to establish a fascist regime which will do whatever he wants.

To achieve these ends fascist Italy had to cover its rear. That is the meaning of the agreement with Yugoslavia. When these aims are achieved a strengthened Italy will turn once more to Adriatic and Balkan problems and will use for their solution any extra power she may have acquired.

—*Le Journal de Moscou*, Moscow.

NOBLE KING

If we ask much of our Kings and Queens as sovereigns, we ask much of them as individuals too. For them, for us, and for the world at large, there are difficult days, it may even be perilous days, ahead. The old standards everywhere are being fiercely challenged. The old loyalties may be sharply strained. But the things which stand, irrespective of fashion or rank or revolution, are after all the old and homely virtues, possible alike for Princes and for lesser folk. There is no denying the temptations which beset every man brought up to be a King. It needs strength of mind in an atmosphere of adulation not to become selfish or spoilt. For the heirs of Kings and Emperors there will always be risks of deterioration which a Washington or a Lincoln may escape. Republican austerity, no doubt, makes easier the path of virtue. But, on the other hand, the self-mastery learned under difficult conditions is one of the greatest qualities which fit a man to be a King.



G. Bressler Editorial Cartoons

The secret of Royal influence in England is to be simple, self-sacrificing and sincere. It is, if we may be allowed to say so, because our people believe that their new sovereigns have already learned that secret together, that the welcome offered them is so unaffectedly genuine to-day. They are ascending a throne which we are not alone in thinking the greatest in the world, a throne founded on the

securest consciousness of freedom and the widest sense of human fellowship the world has seen. To guard that freedom and to keep alive that sense of fellowship is as noble a task as can be committed to man. Our Sovereigns know, none better, the demands which it must make upon them. To those demands they will respond. It is for this reason that their subjects so warmly and unanimously wish them well. It is for this reason that, when George VI puts on the crown of his ancestors at Westminster, we shall one and all echo with devotion Edward VIII's last words to his people, "God Save the King."

—Charles Mallet in *The Contemporary Review*, London.

SOVIET SOAP

The fact that the Soviet Union today uses 2.5 times as much soap as did Tsarist Russia speaks more convincingly than many a thick volume of the great changes that have taken place in the country.

Consider, for example, the fact that far-off Turkmenia used eight times as much eau-de-cologne and almost four times as much tooth powder and paste in 1936 as in 1932, and you have an indication of what is going on in the Soviet portion of the so-called "changeless East." It takes very little imagination to connect this development with the increased crops of cotton, the rise of new oil fields, the founding of industries in this region which formerly suffered the fate of an exploited Tsarist colony.

—*Moscow Daily News*.

Italy Over Britain

ENGLAND has decided to temporise with Italy. And France? Is it, or is it not, a fact that M. Viénot, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is looking for war with Italy? Twice he has put France in a difficult position—first over Morocco, and recently over Italian intervention in Spain. The second occasion seemed so serious to the British Foreign Office that it did not hesitate to leave the Quai d'Orsay in the lurch over it.

And now, whether you like it or not, Italy is mistress of the Mediterranean. The British Foreign Office turns a blind eye to the Italian troops already in Spain. It is not difficult to understand why the Rome government hastened to send battalions to Cadiz and the Balearics. It is not difficult to understand the arrogance of the Duce, imitating English arrogance. Rome is behaving in Burgos, and in Addis Ababa, in the same way as Perfidious Albion has for centuries behaved throughout the world. If the Duce has genius, it is in applying her own brutal methods to England.

Mistress of the British outlet in the Red Sea

and so of the Suez Canal, Italy is now almost in command of Gibraltar and the Moroccan coast.

The truth is that Rome is playing her cards with all the energy and resource derived from having a single will. Fascist Italy wants to close the Straits of Gibraltar in order to protect her exploitation of Abyssinia. She is succeeding, thanks to the foolishness of the Moscow Reds. The aim of this exploitation is to obtain for Italy the raw materials denied her at Versailles when she asked for colonies in the name of her common victory with France and England.

First of these raw materials is motor fuel. Italy, realising England's superiority in resources, wants to specialise in a war of skirmishes. And such warfare demands mechanised action. Has Abyssinia any oil? Italy, with Germany's aid, is looking for it. But the eager Duce does not want to wait for the results of uncertain research.

The climate of Abyssinia is favourable for planting sugar-cane. With sugar-cane alcohol can be made. By mixing alcohol you can make motor fuel. And with motor fuel there is the possibility,

thanks to the climate and the size of Abyssinia, of arming thousands of planes to carry on a pirate's war against the Home Fleet—the kind of war which made England what she is. The study of the cultivation of cane-sugar in Abyssinia was the Rome government's reply to Franco-British jeers.

When, on top of this, you bear in mind the copper which Germany is getting in Spanish Morocco, it is easy to realise the material extent of the German-Italian alliance. Motor fuel in Abyssinia, copper in Spain—here are the underlying reasons for all the apparently haphazard events which come as surprises to the world. It only remains for Berlin and Rome to solve the problem of artificial rubber. When this has been done, the two dictatorships will have solved the problem of raw materials.

Faced with this fertile material alliance, what can France and England do? By their ambiguous attitude to Italy and Germany as well as to communism, the Foreign Office and the Quai d'Orsay can only come to a dead end which will shatter their union. We won't speak of France. She is in the middle of a collectivist experiment which is an extra trump for Rome and Berlin. As for England, she will not be ready until at least 1940. Then she will dispose of a miserable army of 350,000 men and of 2,000 planes. Her fleet will be up to standard, but not suited to the type of warfare the Italians are preparing to wage in the Mediterranean. The Foreign Office is temporising in Spain, as it did in Ethiopia, because the Admiralty fears this new peril. France alone refuses to learn the lesson, and persists in a passionate campaign against Italy and Germany, with whom Britain never ceases to negotiate.

—Cyrano, Paris.

RED ARMY POLITICS

It has been known for some time that Marshal Tukhachevsky, second in command of the Soviet Red Army, was in disgrace. The only doubt was whether the eclipse was partial or total. This doubt no longer remains, for on Tuesday it was announced that Marshal Tukhachevsky had been relieved of his post and appointed to the minor position of Commander of the Volga Corps. The cause of his downfall is clearer or, at least, less mysterious than in the case of other eminent Russians. It is probably not Trotskyism which has brought the Marshal low, though his name was mentioned in the trial of Radek, but two determined views on foreign policy. He is known to have been one of the chief exponents of a close alliance with France and to have placed great hopes on the Franco-Soviet Pact. Marshal Voroshiloff, his superior and one of the most powerful men in Russia, is thought, on the other hand, to be rather lukewarm towards the pro-French policy,



Il 420, Florence

INDIA. THE MOTE AND THE BEAM

"John, have you seen what awful things are going on in Abyssinia?"

"Yes, those Italians will never earn the love of the people they colonize."

while Marshal Yegoroff, the Chief-of-Staff, is said to be openly anti-French and pro-German—in the sense that he favours an agreement with Germany. It can hardly be without significance that Marshal Yegoroff has now been chosen to succeed Tukhachevsky. But all these three men are professional soldiers in the Red Army, which, though becoming increasingly powerful, cannot have the final say. Where does Stalin stand on this question? There have been recent reports that the Soviet Government is dissatisfied with the development of the Franco-Soviet Pact and that it has pressed the Blum Government to start military conversations based upon it. Is it possible that the Soviet Government has also tired of "entanglements" in the West? There is a distinct possibility that Russia, having discarded the Trotskyist "heresy" of world revolution and having gained confidence in her own strength, may retire into a new and self-willed isolation.

—The Manchester Guardian.

MASSACRE OF LEPERS

Details are slowly reaching Shanghai of the brutal massacre by Chinese soldiers on the morning of Easter Sunday, March 28, of between fifty and sixty Christian leper men and women at the leper settlement of the American Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Yeung-Kong, in Southern Kwantung.

For more than twenty years this settlement has ministered to the needs of some of the lepers in

this region under the supervision of the doctors of the mission hospital and other friends. Some financial help has been given by the local Chinese community, whose attitude has always been friendly, and assistance has been given from the Chinese Mission to Lepers and the American Mission to Lepers. Such funds as it has been possible to secure have not been sufficient, however, and the lepers have endeavoured to eke out their existence by begging.

It appears that in the early part of March a senior officer of the Chinese troops stationed in the neighbourhood began to display a hostile attitude towards the lepers, threatening to shoot any that were seen about. He sent a message to this effect to the local authorities, and a meeting was called to discuss the matter. Both the civil and the military authorities were invited to attend, but none of the latter put in appearance, and consequently nothing could be done.

On the Wednesday before the massacre the

military announced that all lepers in the settlement would be given ten cents a day. It now seems evident that this was done with the object of trying to get as many lepers as possible into the settlement with a view to killing them. Each inmate had to sign his name when receiving his ten cents. This continued for three days, and then early on Easter Sunday morning the inmates were called together to receive their money. Accounts reaching Shanghai from trustworthy sources state that as soon as they had assembled soldiers rushed in, bound the lepers, dragged them out of the settlement, and shot every one. Two long trenches were dug and the bodies of the men thrown into one and those of the women into the other. Of those murdered, between fifteen and twenty were women and the rest, about forty, were men. Subsequently, it is stated, the soldiers ransacked the settlement and, after stealing what money could be found, set fire to the buildings.

—*The Manchester Guardian*.

Spain, Fascism and Heroism

TO UNDERSTAND this fatal convergence of forces, feudalism within Spain, fascism outside, let me return for a moment to the definition of fascism which I mentioned before. What is fascism? In its bare political results, it is an old human custom—repression of the people by sheer force—in a new shape. In its economic and social character, however, it is something new under the sun. It is, first, an industrial economy in the last stages of profit taking; second, it is a numerically important middle class radicalized by the suffering caused by the cracking price system; third, it is an organization of that class and its use to destroy the presumptive causes of the crisis, the workers; fourth, it is a betrayal of that class once its work has been accomplished; fifth, it is a pathologic nationalism which is calculated to make that class forget its present woes; sixth, it is war; and lastly, it is imperialism.

Essentially, fascism is a speeding up of the cycle which characterizes modern, fully developed capitalism. It is a small edition of the history of nineteenth century western Europe, considerably abbreviated and carefully edited. It is a telescoping into a few years of what took place during generations. This is particularly true of war and imperialism, two characteristics common to decadent capitalism and fascism. Thus it happened that in the nature of things fascism needed Manchuria and Ethiopia. Fascism also had need of Africa. Fascism needs to break the life-line of an empire. These were the imperatives of European fascism in 1936.

In Spain, too, there were imperatives for the feudalism that simply would not give up. There was need of an army. There was need of aero-

planes, bombs and tanks. There was need of motor transport,—things which feudalism cannot produce. This coincidence of the needs of regressive feudalism in Spain and fascism abroad was the basis of the alliance that brought the war to the peninsula. The practical details were arranged. Colonies, copper, mercury, cork, iron, oranges and olive oil in exchange for Junkers, Capronis and whippet tanks. Sanjurjo sailed for Berlin, followed a little later by Primo de Rivera the younger.

Meanwhile, in Madrid Gil Robles and Juan March turned loose their terrorist campaign. The building contractors of Madrid engineered strikes and lockouts, which, as they have recently stated, they considered as the opening gun of the rebellion. When Franco and Mola, duly bought and paid for, were ready, the rebellion began in earnest. That was July 18, 1936. It was the second blood christening of the young Republic.

Such, in substance, are the under tides that carried Spain from April 14, 1931 to July 18, 1936. Of the fighting itself, I shall not speak. We can only recall the siege and bombing of Madrid, the slaughter of Badajoz, and the retreat from Malaga. The dates on which those men, women and children died under rebel guns are unknown. We cannot celebrate them. We can only remember them.

—Ernesto Galarza.

INTERNAL RUSSIA

Soviet Russia is obviously in a state of ferment. With the ceaseless announcements of new arrests and dismissals, it is becoming clear that a terrific struggle is going on behind the scenes. What is

even more important is that not only Trotskyists are being arrested but the very people who themselves were responsible for the recent trials of these Trotskyists, including some of Stalin's most trusted lieutenants. The nature of the struggle is not easy to gauge from this distance, as totalitarian States are in a large measure cut off from the rest of the world. In certain quarters it has been suggested that there is a struggle for power going on between the Army and O.G.P.U.—that is whether Voroshiloff or Stalin should be Russia's Napoleonic dictator. What is more likely is that there is a definite reaction against Stalin's policy of nationalist isolation which runs counter to the whole tradition of the Russian Revolution.

The rapid swing of Stalin towards nationalism could certainly not have been foreseen a few years back. Evidence of its completeness can be had from the recent instructions to the Chinese Communist Party to place themselves under the Kuomintang at the head of which stands Chiang Kai-Shek who, in 1927, shot down the Communists wholesale.

The reason for this new policy is of course that Russia wants an ally against Japan. Chiang Kai-Shek is apparently more useful in this regard than the Chinese Communists. No wonder people are beginning to say that to be a Communist these days is to become a nationalised Russian subject.

—*South African Opinion.*

South Africa and War

THE two extremes of policy may summarily be stated as on the one hand those who would regard as unthinkable Union neutrality in a war in which England was involved, and opposed to them the complete isolationists who would keep the Union out of war at all costs. The view of the former category was bluntly put by Col. Reitz when he told the Imperial Press Conference that "we have the right to secede and to create a republic or to remain neutral in war, but those are academic questions. . . . What would actually happen in the event of war would be what happened at the last Great War, when people flocked to the banners." For "Col. Reitz" it is also permissible to read "Gen. Smuts." Dr. Malan has from time to time expressed in unequivocal terms the viewpoint of the isolationists. Between these two extremes, may be found a not inconsiderable section with divided loyalties whose position is qualified by certain specific considerations.

Whatever the possibilities, liberals in South Africa must examine the situation from every possible angle before giving our Parliament a "carte blanche" in regard to war policy. To those who would categorically bind us to Britain in every circumstance, the South African liberal has the right to ask: Which Britain? That of conservatism flirting with the fascist countries, or the liberal-labour elements who form to-day the most progressive part of the British nation.

At the risk of giving expression to views which may not prove everywhere acceptable, it is as well to state that South Africa has several reasons for remaining neutral. Apart from the purely pacifist considerations outlined earlier, we cannot ignore the fact that South Africa has no markets to defend or conquer—the primary cause of all modern

wars. We are not unmindful of the strong patriotic ties that bind a large section of our population to Britain; but none the less we must seriously ask ourselves whether the bodies of the South African youth are to be used to stop up the blunders committed by some of our British Conservative statesmen. The derogatory note that has characterised all recent references to the League of Nations in these quarters is a very unhealthy sign. War can still be avoided if the League, which suffered such a serious set-back since the Abyssinian affair, can be revived to cope with all aggression whether in the West or in the East of Europe. Britain, France and Russia can guarantee peace in Europe, if peace be the desideratum. But the vacillating and double dealing policy of the British Conservatives compels us to ask whether these gentlemen are primarily concerned with peace or with their financial hegemony. It is in this light that we should like South Africans to examine the whole situation.

Lest the attitude we have taken be considered as unpatriotic, we need only quote in our support the position of Lord Lytton, who at a meeting at Albert Hall, said that he was not prepared to support any war waged exclusively in our national interest. He stood, he said, for something greater, and when an ironical interrupter asked him if he meant the British Empire, he said: "No," he was only prepared to risk a war in defense of the peace of the world. Lord Lytton, let it be added, yields to no one in the matter of patriotic sentiment.

If South Africa is to bond herself with Britain in the case of emergency, this must be on the condition that it is a Britain guided by a spirit such as expressed by Lord Lytton.

—*South African Opinion.*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, May 11—June 10

NATIONAL

- MAY 11—Germany, Sweden, U. S. pay tribute to Hindenburg disaster victims as bodies are shipped home.
House appropriations subcommittee slashes President Roosevelt's proposed relief budget for 1938 fiscal year from \$1,500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000; House votes 224 to 34 amendment to extend CCC two years as emergency agency.
- MAY 12—27,000 strike in Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation in Pittsburgh, Pa.; Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, C.I.O. affiliate, demand collective bargaining contracts.
John L. Lewis, C.I.O. head, declares neither he nor American Labor wishes peace with A. F. of L.
House passes C.C.C. Bill in amendment form; Senate authorizes new TVA dam at Gilbertsville, Ky., to cost \$112,000,000.
- MAY 13—House Appropriations Committee recommends full \$1,500,000,000 for work relief for 1938 fiscal year; overrides sub-committee recommendation to cut relief to \$1,000,000,000.
Company and union officials meet to end Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation strike in Pittsburgh; 5,800 workers of Pittsburgh Steel Company join walkout; Philip Murray, S.W.O.C. chairman, calls other strikes "inevitable" if companies refuse to sign.
Federation of Motion Picture Crafts and Producers seek end of strike in Hollywood, California.
Strike halts operation in Fisher Body Plant, G.M. subsidiary, in Cleveland; union charges discrimination against members.
- MAY 14—President Roosevelt, back in White House, confers with congressional leaders.
Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, in Covington, Kentucky, dissolves temporary injunction halting power program of T.V.A.
Strike in Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation and Pittsburgh Steel Company settled, on basis of recognition of S.W.O.C.; company to negotiate if S.W.O.C. wins N.L.R.B. election.
Ford Motor Company begins drive against unionization of employees; pamphlet distributed to 150,000 workers warning against "outsiders" seeking "job monopoly."
Judge R. M. Gibson, of Federal District Court, in Pittsburgh, grants temporary injunction blocking government's anti-trust suit against Aluminum Company of America; order restrains Attorney General Cummings from continuing suit filed against company in Southern District of New York.
- MAY 15—Officials and sub-regional directors of S.W.O.C. meet in Pittsburgh; will seek unionization of four big independent steel companies (Republic Steel Company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, Crucible Steel Corporation of America, Inland Steel Company).
Mr. J. Borden Harriman, of New York, sworn in as Minister to Norway.
- MAY 16—A. F. of L. plans nationwide drive to organize transit workers in war against C.I.O.
- MAY 17—U. S. Supreme Court upholds Louisiana State tax on chain stores in 4 to 3 decision. Officials of Republic Steel Company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company opposed to "closed shop"; prefer immediate "show-down."
U. S. State Department bars proposed transatlantic air race commemorating tenth anniversary of Colonel Lindbergh's flight to Paris; held needless risk of life.
Congress gets new act embodying aims of AAA, invalidated by Supreme Court.
U. S. Supreme Court declines to rule right of Anniston Manufacturing Company of Alabama, to recover invalidated AAA taxes.
- MAY 18—Justice Willis Van Devanter to resign from Supreme Court June 2; member of Court for 26 years.
Senate Judiciary Committee gives unfavorable report on President Roosevelt's Court reform plan, by 10-8 vote.
George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, scores Nazi government.
- MAY 19—Opponents of President Roosevelt's Court reform plan press compromise as Justice Van Devanter resigns.
Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, leading candidate for Supreme Court bench.
President Roosevelt vetoes Merritt bill for \$5,000,000 Federal participation in New York 1939 World's Fair; bill held unconstitutional.
Strikers of Consumers' Power Company, in Saginaw Valley, Michigan, return to work at demand of Governor Murphy; strike paralyzes Flint, Bay City, Saginaw, and 200 smaller communities; negotiations to begin in Governor Murphy's office; strike under auspices of United Automobile Workers of America; seek basic union pay.
President Roosevelt names Sumner Welles Under-Secretary of State; R. Walton Moore named Counselor of State Department.
- MAY 20—Senate votes permanent Civilian Conservation Corp, barring House bill to limit life of Corps to two years.

- Editors of Catholic publication declare war to end communism.
- MAY 21—New Deal Administration drafts Labor Bill to embrace minimum hours and wages. C.I.O. wins by two-to-one vote for exclusive bargaining in Jones & Laughlin plants. Illinois miners sit-down 360 feet below ground in share work strike. C.I.O. warns landlords in Pontiac, Michigan, of impending rent strike.
- MAY 22—Striking Illinois miners holding pit 360 feet below ground agree to confer. Independent steel companies defy Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull pledge to work for peace.
- MAY 23—John D. Rockefeller Sr. dies at 97 in Florida.
- MAY 25—Auto union drive in conjunction with C.I.O. on Ford seeks six-hour day and \$5 pay. Administration reveals plan to extend Social Security to 4,500,000 additional workers. House of Representatives revolts on relief; earmarks \$404,000,000 of appropriation. Cabinet members urge export of helium for commercial ships.
- MAY 26—Ford employees beat C.I.O. organizers at Detroit; single out Richard T. Frankenstein director of membership drive for special slugging. Steel Worker's Organizing Committee issues strike order in 27 steel mills; 75,000 workers involved. U. S. State Department silent on Mussolini's arms conference plan.
- MAY 27—President Roosevelt asks Congress to "extend the frontiers of social progress" by enacting a maximum hour-minimum wage law which also would abolish child labor. A. F. of L. accuses C.I.O. head of communistic leanings. New strike called at Chevrolet shop at Saginaw, Mich. Union and Crucible Steel Corporation sign agreement with C.I.O. U. S. Supreme Court holds Social Security Act constitutional by 5-4 vote; Pension section of act held valid by 7-2 vote.
- MAY 27—Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York signs with Transport Workers Union, C.I.O. affiliate; 14,000 get pay raise. Jesse H. Jones, Chairman of Reconstruction Finance Corporation advocates elimination of railroad holding companies.
- MAY 28—Police attack 1,000 steel strikers as they march on Republic Steel Corporation in Chicago; twenty strikers seriously injured. Union leaders plan new drive on Ford plants. President Roosevelt starts tax evasion fight; loss put at \$400,000,000.
- MAY 29—Republic Steel Corporation at Youngstown, Ohio, is placed under siege by aroused workers. Administration hopes to recover \$100,000,000 from tax dodgers.
- MAY 30—Police kill four workers and injure eighty-four more as C.I.O. strikers march on Republic Steel plant in South Chicago. Youngstown steel strikers continue siege.
- MAY 31—Chicago steel strike deaths rise to 5; Governor Henry Horner intervenes. Socialists protest communist participation in relief.
- JUNE 1—900 police guard Chicago steel strike area; Republic Steel Corporation to resume operations without negotiations. Planes land food inside of Republic Steel grounds under sniper's fire. C.I.O. council plans to organize all East Coast maritime workers. Associate Justice Van Devanter retires from Supreme Court bench. Congress overrides President's veto of war insurance extension to 23,000 veterans.
- JUNE 2—Sniper's bullets end the use of food planes to workmen within Republic Steel plants in Ohio. C.I.O. lawyers take depositions of Chicago strikers concerning fatal riot.
- JUNE 3—Steel Workers Organizing Committee moves to close Republic Steel plants still operating by cutting off ore supplies. More than 7,000 workers attend mass burial of South Chicago steel strikers killed by police. President Roosevelt asks Congress for seven regional power agencies modeled after Tennessee Valley Authority. Senator Truman of Missouri assails bankers as the "vultures" who devour railroad receiver-ships; names J. P. Morgan & Speyer & Company, J. & W. Seligman & Company.
- JUNE 4—Steel strike in Chicago area stalemated; Republic Steel to fight union in Court over mail curb. President Roosevelt criticizes bench; early action on court bill anticipated.
- JUNE 5—C.I.O. announces plan to organize civil service employees. Loyal Ford workers organize their own union. Mayor Edward J. Kelly orders the Republic Steel Corporation to cease housing workers in South Chicago plant; violation of city housing laws.
- JUNE 6—Baltimore & Ohio Railroad press a protest with Ohio Governor Davey, to insure operation without striker interference. Steel strikers' committee petitions President Roosevelt to act at once to end strike. Mayor La Guardia of New York pledges his aid to make city 100 per cent. union. A. F. of L. declares open war on C.I.O. in drive to unionize Quebec steel industry.
- JUNE 7—United Automobile Workers of America seize control of part of Lansing, Michigan, state capital; demonstrate against arrest of eight pickets. President Roosevelt refuses to intervene in steel strikes. Nine C.I.O. workers sentenced to jail in Lewiston, Maine, for conspiracy to injure business.
- JUNE 8—Mayor Daniel Knaggs of Monroe, Mich. issues call for armed volunteers to forcibly reopen Newton Steel Company, a subsidiary of Republic Steel Corporation.

Eighth strike victim of Chicago police, dies.
Thirty-nine C.I.O. workers sentenced to jail by Judge Theodore Forby at Waukegan, Illinois, for February sit-down strike in Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation in North Chicago.
President Roosevelt asks Congress for \$160,000,000 subsidy for new merchant ships.

JUNE 9—Power house employees cut power in Saginaw Valley, Michigan; affecting 500,000 workers.

Governor Davey, Ohio, invites steel employers and C.I.O. leaders to peace conference.

JUNE 10—Special police smash C.I.O. picket lines at Monroe, Mich.; reopen steel plant.

SPAIN

MAY 11—Report rebels 6 miles from Bilbao; Bilbao bombed eleven times during day.

MAY 13—British destroyer *Hunter* in blast off port of Almeria; unit of international non-intervention sea patrol; believed to have hit mine.

MAY 15—Cabinet of Valencia government resigns; Premier Largo Caballero to form new cabinet, at request of President Manuel Azana.

Rebels bomb Valencia.

MAY 16—Largo Caballero, balked in effort to form new cabinet, resigns; communists object to his holding of National Defense portfolio.

MAY 17—Basques hold off Rebels in bitter defense of Bilbao; Rebels drive at triple line of defense.

Dr. Juan Negrin, Socialist, forms new cabinet; Largo Caballero not included.

MAY 18—Rebels enter Amorebieta, nine miles southeast of Bilbao; town in flames after incendiary bombing.

Socialist-communist labor unions back Premier Negrin; only anarchists in open opposition.

MAY 19—Munguia heavily bombed by Rebel flyers in drive on Bilbao; Basque lines and Bilbao suburbs bombed.

MAY 20—Four thousand girl refugees embark at Bilbao for England.

MAY 21—Juan March sails to ask Mussolini not to end aid to Rebels.

Rebels strafe roads inside Bilbao fortifications. Reported \$50,000,000 in Basque treasure shipped to France.

MAY 22—Report on Spain drawn up by non-intervention committee.

Loyalists attack in three sections to divert Rebels from Bilbao.

MAY 23—Rebels drive Basques from strategic position at Lema.

3,000 Basque children under care for malnutrition and hysteria in England.

MAY 25—Spanish Anarchists reported to have seized Huesca killing 100.

MAY 26—Spanish Rebel planes shoot down French commercial transport near Bilbao.

New supplies reach Madrid easing food crisis.

MAY 27—Spanish Government appeals to League to act upon Italian aggression.

MAY 28—Rebel planes bomb Valencia; 200 dead; British ships hit.

Basques halt Rebels south of Bilbao; launch counter attack.

MAY 29—Spanish Loyalists bomb and damage German warship *Deutschland*.

Rebel planes bomb Barcelona, killing 70 and wounding 100.

MAY 30—Germany to retaliate for *Deutschland* bombing; to act in concert with Italy against Spanish Government.

MAY 31—Four German warships shell Almeria, Spain, killing 20; Germany advises that bombardment appeases honor; plans no more reprisals.

Senator Borah seeks application of neutrality legislation against intervening power in Spain.

JUNE 1—Italian warships plan to halt all vessels taking arms to Loyalists.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull appeals to Germany and Spain for peaceful solution.

JUNE 2—Tension over Spain diminishes as Britain pushes safety zone plan for all powers.

Marshal Werner von Blomberg and Mussolini confer in Rome on Spanish situation.

Loyalists press along Segonia front; report 6 miles away from city.

JUNE 3—General Mola, Franco's chief aide, killed in air crash outside Bilbao.

Britain submits new plan for Spanish naval patrol.

JUNE 4—Rebels mass guns for bombardment of Bilbao; Madrid shelled.

JUNE 5—Italy accepts in principle new plan for Spanish arms control.

Spanish rebels halt and board French fishing boat at sea.

JUNE 6—Planes and artillery assist Rebels in recapturing Lema hills.

JUNE 7—Sixty-three Rebel planes bomb suburbs of Bilbao.

JUNE 8—Rebels open drive on Cordoba region.

JUNE 9—Silence surrounds Rebel drive in Cordoba region.

INTERNATIONAL

MAY 13—British destroyer *Hunter* damaged while on Spanish non-intervention patrol by mine, torpedo, or bomb.

MAY 14—At opening of Imperial Conference in London, Premier Lyons of Australia urges a Pacific pact, to include Japan; Prime Minister Herzog calls for new definition of Do-

minion nationality; Prime Minister MacKenzie King of Canada urges non-exclusive trade policy, in agreement with U.S.A. tariff policy.

MAY 17—Dr. Guido Schmidt, Austrian Foreign Minister, to visit Paris on return from England to ask guarantee against German aggression.

- MAY 19—Austria reported to have rejected French proposal that she join the Little Entente to strengthen anti-Fascist powers.
Imperial Conference hears Mr. Eden's views on foreign situation.
- MAY 20—Dominion bankers discuss gold problem at Imperial Conference, time held not ripe for action.
- Juan March, Spanish millionaire tobacco king and chief backer of Rebels, leaves for Italy, reportedly to ask Mussolini not to withdraw Italian volunteers.
- MAY 23—Germany declares herself willing to support British proposal for an armistice in Spain.
- MAY 24—Ninety-Seventh session of League of Nations opens; British to propose force in Spain, which Germany and Italy would postpone till after drive on Bilbao, and which Valencia Government will now consider.
- Imperial Conference takes up question of co-ordination of defense.
- Twenty-nine nations spending \$20,000 a minute on war preparations as Europe hastens rearmament.
- MAY 25—French transport plane shot down by Rebel planes near Bilbao; Non-Intervention

- Committee adopts plan for evacuation of foreigners from Spain.
- Members of Imperial Conference study pooling of resources in event of war.
- At Geneva, Valencia delegation agrees to withdrawal of foreign assistance if Franco abides by it.
- MAY 31—Loyalist bombing of German battleship *Deutschland* precipitates international crises; five German warships bomb Almeria in reprisal; Germany and Italy quit non-intervention patrol.
- JUNE 1—Italian warships will stop ships carrying arms to loyalists.
- JUNE 2—Tension over Spanish situation eases; England and France propose unified neutral patrol.
- JUNE 3—British offer scheme of safety zones around Spain to persuade Germany and Italy to return to non-intervention committee.
- JUNE 4—Italians accept with reservations British plan for Spanish patrol.
- JUNE 6—Filipino sugar planters and international financiers fight against independence.
- JUNE 9—Britain accuses the Spanish Rebels of mining the destroyer *Hunter*.
- JUNE 10—Italy and Germany agree to Britain's Spain patrol changes.

FOREIGN

Albania

- MAY 14—Armando Salles de Olivia to be Constitutional party candidate for Presidency, in opposition to President Vargas.
- MAY 16—Rebellion breaks out in South, capitalizing upon Mohammedan resentment of King Zog's orders for unveiling of women; no Greek or Yugoslav influences suspected.
- MAY 19—Martial law to be raised to permit passage of two constitutional amendments.
- MAY 23—Situation calmer, as Governor Valadares, self-appointed coordinator of public opinion, smooths over differences between factions.
- MAY 25—Jose Americao de Almerda unanimously nominated as official candidate for Presidency; President Vargas' retirement now assured; official, independent, and Fascist candidates now in field.

Canada

- JUNE 2—British Columbia's Liberal Government re-elected to office with 31 seats out of 48 in provincial legislature; Conservatives gain eight seats, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation six.
- JUNE 4—Mitchell Hepburn, Liberal Premier of Ontario, dissociates his government from the Federal Liberal Party, to cooperate with Premier Duplessis of Quebec in semi-fascist movement.

Cuba

- MAY 30—Sweeping Amnesty Bill, pardoning all offenses up to May 20, 1937, passed by House of Representatives, former President Machado to be freed.

France

- MAY 23—Paris exposition opens, after construction delays caused by labor trouble.
- MAY 26—Jacques Donot, leader of the Rightist Popular Party, removed from office as Mayor of St. Denis by Ministry of the Interior on charges of irregular awarding of contracts.
- MAY 25—Finance Minister Vincent Auriol assures critics that treasury is sound.
- JUNE 3—Duke of Windsor and Mrs. Wallis Warfield married at Monts in French civil ceremony.

Germany

- MAY 13—Work speeded on strong new fortifications on Baltic Coast.
- Tariff of 100% is placed on imported natural rubber to finance domestic production of artificial substitute.
- MAY 21—Import and export trade for April sets new record for Nazi regime. As British and French trade deficits for same period increased, little hope seen of Germany abandoning present trade policies.
- MAY 23—Catholic bishops declare war on Nazi youth groups; appeal to be made to Catholic youths to join Catholic societies.
- MAY 26—All five members of executive committee of Synod's provisional Church government assisted; new crisis reached in Nazi-Protestant relations.
- JUNE 4—Helmuth Hirsch, 21-year-old U. S. citizen convicted of bringing bombs into Germany, guillotined.
- JUNE 6—Catholic and Nazi youth riot in Munich; ten more priests arrested on immorality charges.

Hitler tells 120,000 Nazis that military arms help to preserve peace.

JUNE 7—High German court rules that church is subject to orders of police.

Mussolini receives high German decoration from Hitler.

JUNE 8—Nazi press commands loyal Germans to choose between Hitler and the Vatican.

JUNE 9—Pope promises pilgrims to Rome that he will continue to aid Catholics in the Reich.

Rev. Martin Niemöller bars Joachim von Ribbentrop from rejoining Anglican church.

Great Britain

MAY 11—Cabinet and Church oppose Royal attendance at Duke of Windsor's wedding.

MAY 12—King George VI crowned in Westminster Abbey; over 1,000,000 watch procession; in broadcast, King promises reign like that of his father.

MAY 18—Duke of Windsor to marry June 3; Royal Family not to be present.

MAY 20—King George VI reviews fleet of 158 warships at Spithead.

MAY 24—Neville Chamberlain stands firm on stiff profits tax, despite all attacks.

MAY 26—London sees strike ends; men called back on old 8-hour schedule pending new contracts.

MAY 30—Neville Chamberlain wins support of Winston Churchill, who will second resolution naming him head of Conservative Party.

MAY 31—In first speech as Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain pledges himself to reconciliation in Europe and unity at home.

JUNE 1—Neville Chamberlain drop profits tax in favor of "simpler" scheme that will be equally productive.

JUNE 7—British foreign office concerned with Italian activity among Palestine Arabs.

JUNE 8—150 Conservative M.P.'s fiercely oppose British-American trade pact.

JUNE 9—Britain threatens a forced partition of Palestine into two States; to segregate Arabs and Jews.

Japan

MAY 14—New Cabinet Planning Board to guide and coordinate rather than control business.

MAY 19—Pacific peace pact proposed by Australia received unenthusiastically.

Resignation of Hayashi cabinet expected.

MAY 23—Rightists urge Premier Hayashi to retain power, as political parties consider a united front against the Government.

MAY 31—Premier Hayashi resigns as result of failure to reach agreement with political parties.

JUNE 4—Prince Fumimaro Konoe, new Prime

Minister, includes two members of political parties in cabinet; finance portfolio presents problem.

Mexico

MAY 13—New tax law declares 35% of gross sales of foreign companies not maintaining branches to be profits and heavily taxable.

MAY 17—Oil workers' wages increased by \$2,000,000 to avert threatened strike.

MAY 18—Governor Manero of Tobasco, most strongly anti-Church state, pledges policy of conciliation towards Church.

MAY 20—John L. Lewis of C.I.O. to visit Mexico; cooperation between Mexican and U. S. unions in prospect.

JUNE 2—President Cardenas demands that employers and unions reach agreement over oil strike within 24 hours.

JUNE 7—Mexican oil strike ends; concessions made by Cardenas.

JUNE 8—New strike threatened as Mexican oil company refuses pay rise; workers ordered to stay on job.

The Netherlands

MAY 26—Electorate endorses Premier Hendryk Colign's "policy of adaptation to the economic crisis": National Socialists suffer setback, Liberal Democratic Party gains in elections in both houses of the States General.

Russia

MAY 11—Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Vice Commissar of Defense, demoted to command of obscure Volga military district.

MAY 16—Trade union chiefs arrested on charges of malfeasance, sabotage, and Trotskyism.

MAY 17—Supreme military councils established.

MAY 20—Forty-four citizens shot on charges of espionage and sabotage on trans-Siberian railway and of Trotskyism.

MAY 22—More than 20 anti-Government plotters reported executed.

Soviet Union claims North Pole, as Professor Schmidt and party set up camp on polar ice.

MAY 23—Summer flight planned from Moscow to San Francisco, using new polar air bases.

JUNE 5—Marshal I. B. Gamarink, Assistant Commissar of Defense, and others, yet unnamed, accused of Trotskyism.

JUNE 9—Purge of Red Army hinted in the removal of four Generals; arrests of many officers of lesser rank rumored.

Italy

MAY 25—Premier Mussolini's Milan newspaper demands that Italian Jews uphold fascism or leave the country.



This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

Spotlights on Canada pick out four urgent topics which are affecting the future of a good neighbor as well as her relations with this country. It is nearly two years since Mr. Aberhart was elected Premier of Alberta; he failed in his Utopian promises, and his fate is now in the balance. **Burton T. Richardson**, who contributes the vivid article, *The Truth About Aberhart*, writes, "For more than a year I have been on a watching brief for the *Winnipeg Free Press* in Alberta, where newsmen are rated as social lepers." However, he has overcome that handicap with eminent success in disclosing the real nature of the social credit movement. **James H. Gray**, the author of *Canada's Santa Claus: F. D. R.*, is also a *Winnipeg Free Press* writer as well as being a contributor to *The Nation*, *Harper's*, and other American publications. Of the amazing results of the President's gold bill on the Canadian mining industry he remarks that Canadians are grateful to F. D. R. for what he has done for them without trying, and they hate to think what he could accomplish in Canada if he really set his mind to it! The third article, *The C.I.O. Comes to Canada*, is a timely analysis of all the fuss over the Oshawa General Motors strike; it surveys the whole Canadian labor movement and estimates the chances of industrial unionism north of the border. **Graham Spry**, an editor of *The Canadian Forum*, has been unflaggingly active in politics and publishing and writes of the labor situation with authority and first-hand knowledge. In *Canada Between Two Worlds*, the editors survey the Canadian background of the Imperial Conference.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act has brought up the whole problem of the future—both economic and strategic—of the Philippines, and Americans are wondering how independence will work, especially in the face of the threat from Japan. **William Henry Chamberlin**, the Tokyo correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor* and author of *Collectivism: A False Utopia* (Macmillan's) among other works, presents a masterly and lucid analysis of the whole situation in *Puzzle in the Philippines*.

There is no need to introduce **Emil Ludwig**, whose latest distinguished work was *The Nile* (Viking Press). His article in this issue, *Old Egypt Grows Up*, is a fascinating by-product of the time he spent in that country while writing his book. It is a fitting tribute to Egypt's election as a member of the League of Nations.

Radio for entertainment represents a surprisingly small part of the whole picture of radio communication, but it throws up innumerable problems, with which the Federal Commerce Commis-

sion is grappling. Here is the whole problem clearly laid out for inspection—by **W. Carroll Munro**, an associate editor of *Current History* who writes *Empire of the Air*.

As we go to press, the news arrives that eight Russian generals are to be secretly tried. The whole background of the hysterical clean-up taking place—especially as regards the Army—is illuminatingly portrayed by **Eugene Lyons** in *Stalin's Purge: A War Measure*. Mr. Lyons, a former Russian correspondent, is the editor of the recently published *We Cover the World* (Harcourt, Brace) and author of *Moscow Carrousel*. His *Assignment in Utopia* will be published in the early Fall by Harcourt, Brace & Co.

They say that man is a warlike beast, always trying to get at his neighbor's throat. **Mauritz A. Hallgren** shows conclusively that, on the contrary, it is extremely difficult to get him to fight at all, in *Men Do Not Like War*. Mr. Hallgren is on the editorial staff of the *Baltimore Sun* and is the author of *The Tragic Fallacy: A Study of America's War Policies* (A. A. Knopf).

Herr Hitler has just announced that all German mothers, married or unmarried, may assume the title of *Frau*. **Walter Brockman**, an American correspondent in Germany for six years, made a wide study of social conditions there and describes in *Illegitimacy in Germany* just why there are so many unmarried *Fraus*.

Lawrence A. Fernsworth, the London and New York *Times* correspondent in Spain, contributes another absorbing article on the war. This time he presents a series of lively, human snapshots of the Anarchists. You will find *La Comarada Maria*, the heroine of *With the Spanish Anarchists*, an intriguing personality.

Indians have given Mexico a rich cultural heritage; they have also presented a serious social and economic problem. **Maurice Halperin**, of the University of Oklahoma, who is shortly bringing out a book on Mexico, describes the New Deal introduced for Mexico's Indians in *Mexico's Melting-Pot*.

Harry Tipper, a member of the editorial advisory board of *Current History*, surveys the future for America's foreign trade in *Our Score in Trade*.

J. C. Le Clair, a member of the faculty of City College of New York and a previous contributor to *Current History*, describes the growth of a little-known nation in *A Future for Iran*.

T R A V E L

Where History Is in the Making

IN THE popular mind, Finland rates above all other countries as a "land of lakes." Yet Canada is even more a country of waters than the Scandinavian republic. For strewn lavishly over its broad surface are countless thousands of lakes and hundreds of rivers of all sizes. Of these, Americans are most familiar with the Great Lakes, Niagara Falls, and the St. Lawrence River, the last of which is the site of the much-discussed waterways project. But farther to the North, East, and West are other lakes, falls, and rivers, not as famous, perhaps, but which concede little in beauty and size, if not in economic importance.

The greatest waterways in Canada are those of the St. Lawrence System. The river itself was accidentally discovered by Jacques Cartier, a French navigator, less than fifty years after Columbus happened upon a new continent. But it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the St. Lawrence regions were charted more extensively. Samuel de Champlain—first great name in Canadian history—was the explorer and, sailing up the river, he helped to found the first permanent French colony in North America. This colony is now known as Annapolis, Nova Scotia.

Champlain's fur-trading expeditions took him southward from the St. Lawrence to the beautiful lake now bearing his name. The French explorer pushed westward, too, up the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, to Lake Huron and Lake Ontario. But he stopped there, not realizing that many other great lakes stretched still farther west. This penetration westward was accomplished not much later by Radisson and Groseillers, French explorers who were probably the first Europeans to press as far into the interior of the Continent as the Mississippi. The next few years saw a mission established on the shores of Lake Superior and the exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette. The missionaries did not stop at Lake Superior but moved on to Lake Michigan and what is now known as the Canadian West.

Subsequent discoveries and geographical surveys up through history have confirmed one of the main observations of the earliest explorers: Canada was a land of many waters. As late as the turn of the twentieth century new lakes were still being mapped. Today, Canada is known to

have more lake-filled country than Scandinavia or even East Africa, the latter of whose lakes may compare with Canada in size but not in numbers. Canada's lakes range from hundreds of miles in length and thousands of feet in depth to hidden forest ponds the size of a city block and of wading depth.

Geologists tell us that the cause of Canada's innumerable lakes and waterfalls can be traced to the retreat of the ice after the glacial period, when the original waterways were blocked in many places. Many of the larger lakes have rocky shores and islands, but the smaller ones are outlined with marshes and a number of them are slowly filling up with vegetable matter and will eventually become peat bogs.

The largest lakes, both in size and number, occur within a distance of a thousand miles of Hudson Bay. Most familiar, of course, are the Great Lakes, but there are more than a dozen others of equal or even larger size about which comparatively little is known. In addition, there are nine lakes having a length of 100 miles or more and 35 which are more than 50 miles long. Most of the lakes run into long, irregular bays and surround large numbers of islands; the Georgian Bay and Lake of Woods, for example, have islands running into the thousands. In the Cordilleran region, however, the lakes are fingered in shape, in reality being sections of mountain valleys filled in by fresh water.

Canada is one of the few countries in which one is able to travel for hundreds of miles by canoe. Many of the lakes spill over into lower basins, making a long link of lakes. In cases where the joining rapids are too steep, canoeists negotiate the span by carrying their boats and equipment along the shore. The system of interlocking lakes has not simplified their identification for it is often difficult to recognize where the link is large enough to warrant calling the next lake by a new name. The St. Lawrence River begins as the Nipigon River and along various parts of its course takes the names of St. Mary's, St. Clair, Detroit, and Niagara, before flowing out from Lake Ontario to the sea. The St. Lawrence is by far Canada's most important river, a water highway of trade between two nations as well as between the interior of the continent and the seaports of Montreal and Quebec.

The largest of the rivers north of the divide

between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay is the Nelson, which drains the great Manitoban Lakes, Winnipeg, Winnipegosis, and Manitoba. Other large rivers in this area, not as easily adapted to navigation as the Nelson, are the Whale, Big, East Main, Rupert, Nottaway, Moose, Albany, Severn, and Churchill.

The Mackenzie River, in the northwest section of the country, has a length of more than 2000 miles, of which approximately one-half is navigable for passenger and freight service. But like other northward-flowing rivers, it bears little traffic except for the northern-fur-trading posts. The Mackenzie has its beginnings in the Great Slave Lake, which in turn is traced back to the Slave River, Athabasca Lake, and Peace River. The second greatest river in the great Canadian northwest is the Yukon, which sets out from an arm on the Pacific, just within the border and about 20 miles from the sea. Beginning 2800 feet above the sea and flowing north, the Yukon changes its direction several times before passing out of the Yukon territory into Alaska and pouring out into the Bering Sea, a journey of 2000 miles from its head waters. The story of the Yukon is the story of gold rushes, exploration, and adventure. Route to the Klondike, the Yukon has carried thousands of gold-hungry prospectors to their fortunes, and sometimes to their graves.

The two most important southern waterways are the Columbia and the Fraser. The former is the largest of the two and continues southward into the United States; the Fraser follows an almost similar course, passing into the sea at Vancouver. A number of other rivers in the southern part of Canada, particularly British Columbia, is suitable for navigation. Of these, the Skeena and the Stikine serve the posts and mining camps of the interior.

The rivers flowing north and those west divide sharply in the southern Rocky Mountains. Near this divide are two lakes, the Committee's Punch Bowl and Lake Fortress, sending their waters east and west. And the flow into the tributaries of the neighboring rivers is augmented by the melting snows of a mountain nearby Lake Fortress. The drain is in three directions: towards the tributaries of the Columbia, the Saskatchewan, and the Athabasca, being thus distributed between the Pacific and Arctic Oceans and the Hudson Bay.

With the exception of the St. Lawrence, site of the gigantic project, Canada's rivers have been steadily losing their importance in trade, commerce, and transportation since the turn of the century. Yet this decline has been more than compensated for by the hydro-electric power

projects made possible by the many high waterfalls along the course of the rivers. And the intricate manner in which these rivers drain Canada has been a source of geographic wonderment.

Exposition in Texas

THE first practical application of the "good neighbor" idea, as advanced by President Roosevelt, between the peoples of the western world will be noted in the Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition which has opened in Dallas.

In a \$25,000,000 plant, pageant, diorama, music and exhibits portray the progress of all the nations of the western hemisphere since the landing of Columbus in 1492. The theme of the showing is centered around the reciprocal trade



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INTERLOCKING LAKES: *Canada, a land of lakes, has many bodies of water linked by waterfalls, as in the case of Lake Louise above.*

and cultural relations between the republic of the north and Central and South America. In recognition of Latin participation in the Exposition, architects have converted the grounds into an ensemble of the romance, architecture, native flowers, trees and landscaping of these nations, costing several hundred thousand dollars.

A permanent building within the main plant houses a great Pan American exhibit, displaying the culture and achievements of all the nations. Operating as a clearing house of information it is expected to prove a powerful factor in improving friendly understanding among the peoples in the Pan-American groups. In another permanent building music, classical and popular, will be brought from every corner of the western world. Here also will be presented popular plays and theatricals, reminiscent of the romantic past of the South American continent.

An outstanding contribution to the Latin American theme of the Exposition is the pageant, "Cavalcade of the Americas." Liberation will be the theme of this drama, an outgrowth of the "Cavalcade of Texas," which played to record crowds at the Texas Centennial Exposition, and

which was hailed by critics as one of the finest productions of its nature ever staged. The pageant begins with the time of Christopher Columbus and ends with the recent Pan American peace and trade conference in Buenos Aires. In the 500 years to be covered, all the drama and struggle of the people in a new country, building a new civilization, is recounted. The background is a realistic Aztec sacrificial scene in the hills of Tenochtitlan. Balboa's discovery of the Pacific, Cortez' conquest of Mexico, the death of Montezuma, and the raising of the cross on the ancient hills of the City of Mexico will be outstanding scenes.

The plant of the Exposition is housed in practically 100 per cent air-cooled buildings, most of which are permanent structures. The Hall of Latin American republics alone has a floor space of 60,000 square feet. Its brilliant colorings and architecture will be representative of these countries. Close by will be a Mexican Village, lending its color to the international scene.

While the Latin relationship will be an important factor throughout the Exposition, Texas,

the Southwest, and all of North America have special attention. In its own building, the Federal government is participating with the greatest display of its activities ever sent from Washington. Texas' Hall of State, costing more than \$1,000,000, presents the history and commercial progress of the Lone Star. The multi-billion dollar undeveloped natural resources of the State is being shown and convincingly presented as to commercial possibilities. An agrarian center gives the visitor a thorough knowledge of the great agricultural and livestock resources of the State.

The recently-completed all-weather Pan American highway, crossing the most densely populated areas of the United States from the Canadian border to the City of Mexico is attracting many thousands of visitors. Border restrictions being at a minimum, those bringing their automobiles will have no difficulty in getting the vehicles across the international boundary at Laredo. Every courtesy has been guaranteed by the Mexican government, which intends to operate information bureaus both within the United States and along the highway for the convenience of visitors.

HERE AND THERE

MONTMARTE, the famed artistic center, is the focal point for visitors at the Paris Exhibition. The district's history reaches back to the days of the Romans. Until the French Revolution, Montmartre was a village extending southward to Notre Dame de Lorette. It was there that Napoleon's destiny was decided, when the Allied troops stormed the hill. One of Montmartre's most precious relics is the "Chateau des Brouillards" in the Rue Girardon, once a "folly" of the eighteenth century, made famous by the poet Gerard de Nerval. Among the artists who have worked and lived in Montmartre are Manet, Renoir, Degas, Monet, and the great Van Gogh.

Tips to travelers by Douglas Malcolm, of the American Express Travel Service:

Don't shout at bewildered foreigners if they do not understand English. Many travelers still exercise the "deaf and dumb" tactics and believe that those who do not speak English will more easily comprehend the language if it is vociferously shouted at them. Always phrase your question in simple language and speak slowly and in a low voice. If in a party let only one be your spokesman.

Forego criticism of another country's monetary system. Many tourists have brought disrespect to themselves by a flippant or cynical reference to a foreign nation's currency.

Limit the amount of your baggage to as few pieces as possible, and make certain to have your name and address plainly printed on every item, especially cameras, umbrellas, typewriters, etc.

Remember that there are set standards for tips and service abroad, but do not forget that shopping has no fixed price standards and that foreign store-keepers rather expect you to bargain.

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The World in Books

(Continued from page 7)

Although Mr. Wittmer subtitles his book "A Guide to the Next War," he resists the temptation of drawing up sides for the coming conflict, which, incidentally, he believes to be inevitable. But those readers disappointed in finding that his guide to the next war ends in a detour when it comes to determining who will fight whom, may have the consolation of knowing that even Europe's brightest statesmen have not been able to find the answer.

There is little of the optimist about Felix Wittmer. War is already on its way, like an overdue package, and the only thing to do is to wait for its arrival. Europe may find it on its doorstep before the year is out. Perhaps war may be delayed "once again," but there is "little hope for its final aversion." "The truth is that nothing short of a miracle will save Europe from an abyss more dreadful than that of the World War."

In the face of Felix Wittmer's certainty of disaster, there is reason to recall that each of the last six years was incorrectly scheduled for a World War. Though we may be tottering on the brink and though our footing is beginning to slip we have not yet plunged into the pit. At least, there is the chance that we may fall the other way and land on the pillows of peace. It would seem, too, that little can be gained by concentrating all our attention upon an invisible handwriting on the wall, while we may be putting the time to better advantage in fighting the conditions which make for war.

OPPORTUNITY FOR AGENTS

Applications are now being accepted by CURRENT HISTORY for district representatives to look after the magazine's numerous new and renewal subscriptions.

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Tenderness is hardly an attribute of Mr. Wittmer. He sees insincerity and hypocrisy in every corner. All the world wears a false smile and carries a set of brass knuckles behind its back. England would not be above dropping France as an ally if the bait were large enough. France would not be above dropping England for the same reason. Hitler would stall off Mussolini in a minute and enter into horse-trading with Stalin, with a view to double-crossing them both. But even cynicism can be self-redeeming. Consider Mr. Wittmer's closing paragraph:

"If we believe some of the most big-mouthed leaders in Europe, it must be more beautiful to die than to live. Perhaps they are right. Today they claim that their people stand behind them. In the war, of course, the leaders will stand behind their people."

It is somewhat encouraging, after Mr. Wittmer's downpour of despair, to read *A Good Word for Democracy*, by S. E. Forman, or an essay such as that contributed by Professor P. M. S. Blackett in *What is Ahead of Us?*—a little volume consisting of chapters by leading experts on the future of world politics. Professor Blackett, in a chapter on "The Next War: Can It Be Avoided?" takes a definite stand for the affirmative. Democracy holds the key to peace. If all the peoples of the democratic nations stand shoulder to shoulder against Germany, which Dr. Blackett regards as the chief threat to peace, war can be averted.

Other equally illuminating chapters in *What is Ahead of Us?* are contributed by G. D. H. Cole, Sidney Webb, Wickham Steed, Sir Arthur Slater, and Professor Lancelot Hogben. And their topics, in the same order, are the futures of capitalism, economic nationalism, dictatorships, Soviet communism, and human survival.

The volume is based upon a recent series in the annual Fabian Lectures, only a few of which have ever been published, despite the long life of the Lectures.

As a group, the essays in *What is Ahead of Us?* present an effective and sound argument for an enlightened liberalism. Each of the contributors is a qualified authority and each writes against a background of long experience.

Dr. Forman's good word for democracy is, simply, "faith." Overlooking its shortcomings, the author is willing to accord democracy proper credit for charting a course that has no room for dictatorships and the by-products of the dictatorial state. He finds that democracy is constantly introducing reforms in the electoral machinery, is responsive to the programs for its own better-

ment, and is performing its economic tasks with a commendable efficiency. In short, the manner in which democracy is functioning has led Dr. Forman to exclaim: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; democracy, thou art still the hope of mankind!"

It HAS remained for a New Deal administration to lend the impetus for a revival of literature on the Constitution and the Supreme Court that has included such landmarks as Bancroft's *Formation of the Constitution* or George Ticknor Curtis' *Constitutional History of the United States*.

Two new works which may prove to be equally noteworthy are Charles Warren's *The Making of the Constitution* (reviewed in the May issue of *Current History*) and *The Bulwark of the Republic*, by Burton J. Hendrick. Deserving of high praise, too, is *The Supreme Court and the National Will*, by Dean Alfange.

Mr. Hendrick, a biographer of distinction, has sought to view the Constitution and the Supreme Court through the personalities contributing to its history, as well as through the biography of the document itself.

Flowing again through Mr. Hendrick's pages is the entire stream of Constitutional personalities—from Washington, Madison, and Marshall to Taney, Lincoln and Holmes. The Chief Justices Marshall and Holmes, each of whose tenure was a century apart, embody the spirit and achievements of the Constitution in their day, says the author. "It is a satisfaction that, though separated in time by a century, in thought and in aspiration they are so much akin. And the deep-seated reason is the same. They were both Americans . . . To Marshall and Holmes—one a soldier in the Revolution, one a soldier in the Civil War—the Constitution was great and worthy of protection and respect because it had created a Nation."

Mr. Hendrick's work takes the reader only as far as the earlier part of the twentieth century. In a detailed introduction, however, he indicates that the present dispute over the President's Supreme Court proposal will not serve to diminish the prestige of the Court. Despite the struggle today between the Executive and the Judiciary, he says, both Nation and Court will emerge without any loss to the people in popular liberties. The Supreme Court has been the subject of attack before and may see its "wings clipped again." But the flexibility of the Court and its ability to regain its high estate in the opinions of the people will enable it to survive the "present onslaught."

As manifestations of the Court's flexibility, Mr.

Hendrick cites recent decisions which have been a direct about-face from previous judicial opinions. In the Washington minimum wage law, for example, Chief Justice Hughes, with a precedent-setting disregard of technicalities, declared that "the case of *Adkins vs. Children's Hospital* should be, and is, overruled."

Mr. Hendrick feels that the Supreme Court has seen a new light. It has "taken a stand in harmony with the best purposes in the modern world." Minimum wages for women,—probably also for men,—maximum hours of labor, will find no threat before the Court.

The Supreme Court and the National Will, winner of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Award, is the result of an attempt by Dean Alfange to reconcile two divergent loyalties: one to the Supreme Court as an institution above molestation; the other to the cause of social progress, as evidenced in the legislation of the New Deal. As a lawyer, he had come to look upon the Supreme Court as the least dispensable feature of American government. And as a believer in popu-



DIVERSION? Our friend, Webster, defines it as "that which diverts the mind from care, and releases and amuses". Pastime, entertainment, recreation, sport, game, play, solace, merriment . . . are all synonyms of diversion.

And what does a tourist primarily seek when he or she goes touring? Diversion, of course! The greatest tourist of them all, the inimitable Will Rogers, once said: "Quaint Mexican! The thing that strikes me is that we go away all over the world and growl all around hunting for odd and different things, and here they are at our very doorstep . . ."

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lar government, he was "disquieted" over the manner in which the processes of democratic government were being frustrated by the Court.

Examining the relationship of the executive and legislative branches to the judicial, Mr. Alfange finds that public opinion and confidence are the actual pillars upon which the Supreme Court rests. The main reason why the Court has survived its many battles is that it has enjoyed, by and large, the faith of the American people. Although a conservative institution, it can be of invaluable social use by retaining the public confidence. "Conservative institutions, especially in times of social crisis, must know how to bend in order not to break." Functioning wisely, the Court can help to bring about social change by consent and, at the same time, preserve the framework, the machinery, and the "habit" of free government.

THREE military figures are the subjects of the month's outstanding biographical works. Lord Carson's part in the World War is described by Ian Colvin in the third volume of *The Life of Lord Carson*; Winfield Scott, soldier and politician of a century ago, is the subject of Arthur D. Howden Smith's study in *Old Fuss and Feathers*; and Colonel T. Bentley Mott writes of his varied experiences with the United States War Department in *Twenty Years as Military Attaché*.

The concluding volume by Mr. Colvin on the life of one of Britain's ablest statesmen traces the last twenty years of Edward Carson's life—from the beginnings of the World War to Carson's death in 1935. Carson was in the center of the fight against Home Rule for Ireland, leading the opposition to the Third Home Rule Bill as head of the Irish Unionist Party. After the outbreak of the World War he joined the Asquith Coalition but resigned, in spite of the severest pressure, because he felt that the administration's indecision and procrastination in time of war might prove costly. The specific incident upon which his decision was based was the government's stand on the Serbian question in 1916.

Lord Carson, says the author, was content to let the world go by and enjoy the chat and the reading of his own fireside. Once, Lord Haldane asked him:

"What authors do you read most?"

"Edgar Wallace and P. G. Wodehouse."

"But don't you ever read difficult books?"

"No, I leave it to you to write them."

As a personality, he was "simple, strong, and passionate, easy and generous, as quick to forgive as to resent an injury. He was always him-

self, neither cold nor unreal, so that men said: 'You know where you had him,' and even in politics, which are full of malice, there were few who disliked him." Lloyd George once remarked that he wished he had Carson's courage.

Mr. Colvin's biography is strongly sympathetic but does not engage in glorification merely for the sake of adding stature to its subject, for there was never any question of Carson's stature.

American history has tended too much to overlook one of its most colorful military figures—Winfield Scott, the man who never lost a battle. This lack of attention has its compensation in *Old Fuss and Feathers*, an engaging biography in which Mr. Smith gives General Scott credit for being the best soldier of his time. Scott fought every important battle from the War of 1812 up to the Civil War.

Mr. Smith points out that "Old Fuss and Feathers," as Scott was not unaffectionately called, was the only American commander who never lost a battle but the one victorious general who lost a presidential election. Scott was nominated for the presidency in 1852 over President Fillmore and Daniel Webster but lost the election to Franklin Pierce, who had served under him in the Mexican War.

More than any other man—even more than Sylvanus Thayer—Winfield Scott was the father of West Point, says the author. Every important leader in the Union and Confederate armies was trained by him, and Scott eventually earned the praise of the Duke of Wellington who refused to believe at first that this "poor young man" could win in Mexico. Later, Wellington called Scott's military successes in Mexico "unsurpassed in military annals." Scott had become "the greatest living soldier."

Rich in narrative power, *Twenty Years as Military Attaché* is the absorbing story of a type of military career that is not associated with front-line trenches nor bursting shells but with the mechanics of war diplomacy. Colonel Mott's first and perhaps most important experience as a military attaché was in Paris. After that, his duties brought him "into strange places and strange company, and some of the things that happened may be worth reading about." The author emphasizes that the work can not actually be called a biography, except in the sense that it may be biography of observations and relationships. As such, *Twenty Years as Military Attaché* is of definite value, for Colonel Mott attended important military conferences of the World War and was in a good position to analyze not only the forces behind the war's leading characters, but the men themselves as personalities.